The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society

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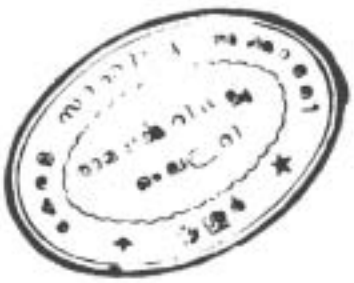
VOL. XI

for the year 1920—21



MYTHIC SOCIETY

DALY MEMORIAL HALL, CENOTAPH ROAD

BANGALORE CITY

THE
BANGALORE
PRESS
LAKE VIEW

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The Mythic Society

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T. SWAMINATHAIYA, ESQ.

THE MYTHIC SOCIETY, BANGALORE.

Statement showing receipts and disbursements during the year 1920-21.

Receipts.	Amount.			Disbursements.			Amount.		
	Rs.	A.	P.				Rs.	A.	P.
1. Opening Balance	358	0	7	Printing Journals			1,725	4	0
2. Interest on fixed deposits and State Loans ...	209	14	0	Postage			210	7	3
3. Resident Members' subscriptions	995	12	0	Establishment			974	15	10
4. Mofussil	485	0	0	Contingencies and stationery			46	8	3
5. Life Members	850	0	0	Book binding			90	12	0
6. Library grants	250	0	0	Furniture including portraits			488	4	0
7. Donations	1,000	0	0	Purchase of books			126	3	4
8. Sale of journals	108	0	0	Lighting charges			55	13	0
9. Government grants	1,500	0	0	Miscellaneous charges including garden maintenance ...			386	7	6
10. Miscellaneous	157	0	0	To Funded Capital...			1,606	4	0
				Closing balance with the General Secretary including current account and Government Savings Bank	Rs. 139	13 3	193	11	5
				With the Branch Secretaries and Curator ...	53	14 2			
Total ...	5,904	10	7	Total ...			5,904	10	7

Funded Capital on 30th June 1920	Rs.	5,000 0 0
Credited during 1920-21	,,	1,606 4 0
Total on 30th June 1921	,,	6,606 4 0
Note.—(1) Subscriptions due	,,	590 0 0
(2) Value of Journals on hand at Rs. 1-8-0 each ...	= Rs.	8,035 8 0

A. V. Ramanathan,
General Secretary & Treasurer.

The

Quarterly Journal

of the

Mythic Society

Vol. XII.] OCTOBER 1921 [No. 1.

THE ELEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MYTHIC SOCIETY.

Bangalore, July 29, 1921.

THE HON'BLE LIEUT.-COLONEL S. G. KNOX, C.S.I., C.I.E.,
BRITISH RESIDENT IN MYSORE,
in the Chair.

IN a few graceful words, Mr. P. Raghavendra Rao, First Member of Council, welcomed Colonel Knox on the occasion of his first visit to the Mythic Society and proposed that he would take the chair. Mr. K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar, Revenue Commissioner, seconded, and, amidst unanimous applause, Colonel Knox took the chair.

Mr. A. V. Ramanathan, B.A., General Secretary and Treasurer then read the Report.

THE REPORT.

THE Committee of the Mythic Society have the honour to present to you this evening the Report of the Society's activities during the Eleventh Session.

During this session we have had an appreciable increase in membership, made further additions to our funded capital, enlarged our library, added to our valued possessions for decorating this Hall, got into touch with similar Societies in England, France and America, and maintained our Journal at a high level. Our Hall also has been in greater demand from other Associations and Government Departments.

MEMBERSHIP.—Our membership has risen from 488 to 534 during this year. We have elected the distinguished French Savant, Professor Felix Lacote, of the University of Lyons, as an Honorary Member and also Monsieur Martineau, a former Governor of the French Possessions in India, who, in his Convocation Address delivered a few years ago before the University of Madras, spoke in the most eulogistic terms of our President and our Society.

In response to our appeal in the last Report and to our President's appeal in his Annual Address, several of our members have become life members, of whom we have now 19, including the distinguished Vice-Chancellor of the Mysore University, Dr. Brajendranath Seal. We have also 18 honorary members, 206 resident and 291 moffusil members and 30 subscribers.

The Committee feel that there are still a large number among our members who can help us by becoming life members. A Society like ours must have a large Funded Capital to ensure its stability and your Committee once again express the hope that many more will soon come forward to help the premier intellectual Research Association of Mysore and South India to extend the scope of its activities.

FINANCES.—The year opened with a funded capital of Rs. 5,000 and a cash balance of Rs. 358. We received in the course of the Session an anonymous donation of Rs. 1,000, life-membership donations amounting to Rs. 850, Government grants aggregating Rs. 1,750 and subscriptions and miscellaneous receipts totalling Rs 1,947. We have transferred Rs. 1,606 to the Capital Fund, all of which is invested in Mysore Government Bonds. Our journal cost us Rs. 1,725 which is more than our total subscriptions by Rs. 234. We paid Rs. 975 for the establishment, and Rs. 488 for furniture while our miscellaneous expenditure for the Society, the Hall and the Library amounted to Rs. 917. We had, on the 30th June 1921, a funded capital of Rs. 6,606 and a working balance of Rs. 194.

Rs. 590 on account of outstanding subscriptions on the last date of the Session is really too large a sum and your Committee hope that this item will not occur again in our future accounts. We did not wish to send out V. P. P. Parcels unless absolutely necessary, as the V. P. system had become

costly. V. P. P. Parcels were, however, sent in June as a last resort and a large portion of the subscriptions was collected in this way. But this has an incidental disadvantage. A good number of V. P. P. Parcels are returned owing to wrong address and other causes, and the Society loses an appreciable sum in postage. We shall feel grateful if every resident member sends in his five rupees, and every mofussil member his three rupees immediately on receipt of No. 1 of Vol. XII of the Journal. To facilitate regular payments a scheme of payment by Bank orders has also been devised. Copies of the order form are now supplied to you. By returning them filled up, members can avoid the receipt of V. P. Parcels at inconvenient times. Intimation of present addresses and of changes in address will also greatly help the Society in ensuring correct delivery of the Journal.

MEETINGS.—Against the minimum of nine meetings prescribed by the rules, we had twelve. Two of the lectures were illustrated with lantern slides. We had the honour of welcoming the Honourable Mr. W. P. Barton, C.S.I., C.I.E., to the first lecture of the year 'Two years in Crete', delivered by Colonel F. W. Radcliffe, C.M.G., C.I.E., C.B.E. Doctor J. N. Farquhar of the Y. M. C. A. kindly delivered an illustrated lecture on "The Fine Arts of Ceylon" in January. Professor S. Krishnaswamy Iyengar's learned lecture on "Greater India" and Rajakaryaprasakta B. Ramakrishna Rao's interesting lecture on "The Dasara in Mysore" were noteworthy. This last one will be welcome to all visitors to Mysore during the Dasara festivities. The Rev. A. Slater and Messrs. B. Puttaiya, C. Hayavadana Rao, S. Srikantaiya, R. Rama Rao and K. Ramapisharoti also helped to make the Session full and interesting.

Our learned President responded during the year to our request at the last Annual Meeting and delivered a lecture of great interest on the "Birthplace of Buddha." The lecture with a beautiful illustration of a Buddhist "Tunka" and an account of the President's Journey to Rumindei and Kapila Vastu has already appeared in our Journal. Your Committee desire to express the Society's thanks to him on this occasion for his highly interesting and learned lecture, which Sir Leslie Miller aptly described as one of the most scholarly which has been delivered within these walls.

JOURNAL.—With the kind help of the gentlemen already mentioned, and of Messrs. V. B. Alur, H. A. Shah, K. G. Sesha Iyer, K. G. Shankara Iyer, B. V. Kameswara Iyer and K. Krishnamacharya, Professor A. G. Widgery and Pundit R. Shama Sastry, we have been able to run the Journal on its high level of excellence.

Our Journal has secured a wider field of circulation and our list of exchanges has risen from 29 to 43. Among the additions to the list are the

" American Oriental Society," " The Royal Anthropological Institute," London, " The Dhwaja " of Java and " La Societe Asiatique " of France.

LIBRARY.—As you all know, we had been requesting the transfer to our Library of the books on History, Archæology and allied subjects that were in the Secretariat and other Offices Libraries. In his concluding remarks at the last Annual Meeting, Rajasevadhurina Sirdar M. Kantaraja Urs expressed the hope that His Highness' Government would favourably consider the request and grant it soon. We had not long to wait for the fulfilment of the hope and, as already announced in our Journal, 422 volumes have been transferred to our keeping. We tender to Government our grateful thanks for this generous gift and we fully trust that the same generosity will help us in securing for the use of scholars and research workers some more books which are in the Museum Library and not readily accessible to them.

We have added another 242 books to our Library by purchase or presentation, including over 25 volumes from the Calcutta University, so that now the Library of the Mythic Society is in a fair way of becoming one of the largest Oriental Libraries in Southern India.

HALL.—With the continued support of the Mysore Government, we have been enabled to maintain our Hall and grounds as models of their kind. The All-India Railway Police Committee held its sittings in the Hall, and the Mysore Engineers and the Forest Associations had the use of the Hall on more than one occasion during the year.

We had the proud privilege of a visit from our beloved Patron, His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore, for the first time after the Society has moved into this Hall. His Highness expressed himself greatly pleased with our work and among other things was exceedingly interested in the book of Mysore Views, which the Revd. Mr. F. Goodwill had purchased for us while in England. His Highness spent fully an hour on the premises and, as a further token of his abiding interest in the Mythic Society, he has presented us with the artistic portrait of his revered father, His Highness the late Chamarajendra Wodeyar Bahadur, G.C.S.I.

You will notice also another addition to our portrait gallery. Rao Saheb S. Krishnaswami Iyengar who, with our worthy President and Mr. F. J. Richards, shares the honour of having founded this Society, has presented us with his portrait so that we now have the three founders side by side in our Hall. He has given further proof of his interest in our Society by becoming a life member within the last fortnight.

We were honoured during this session with the visit of the eminent statesman to whom the world at large owes so much, the President of the Peace Conference, Monsieur Clemenceau. He was highly gratified with

the work done by our Society, and kindly consented to leave with us his autograph, which we shall always look on as a historical treasure as it was that same signature which was the first appended to the Treaty of Versailles, which brought the World War to an end.

We had also the pleasure of receiving two distinguished scholars in our Hall. The well-known Orientalist, Dr. F. W. Thomas of the India Office and the Royal Asiatic Society, London, paid us a visit in December when he was met by the members of your Committee and other members. He was greatly impressed with our work and our Library whilst our grounds with their restful beauty excited his admiration. He has made to us certain proposals for greater co-operation with the Royal Asiatic Society, which we shall take up in correspondence with him. He has also promised to send us some valuable catalogues, books and prints from old negatives on his reaching London. Dr. Brajendranath Seal, our new Vice-Chancellor of whose encyclopædic erudition all of you have heard, also visited us during the year and has evinced his interest in our Society by becoming a life member. We confidently look forward to getting from him valuable guidance in our work.

We desire here to thank Mr. W. M. Briggs for his valuable gift of the interesting Nepalese Temple Banners (Tunkas), a picture of which formed the frontispiece of the last April number of our Journal. We are happy to announce that Pundit Shama Shastry, one of our most active members, and the discoverer of Kautilya's Arthasastra, has been awarded the Campbell Memorial Medal by the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society on our recommendation. Professor Rao Saheb S. Krishnaswami Iyengar also has been honored during the year by selection as an Honorary correspondent of the Government of India Archæological Department.

CONCLUSION.—In conclusion we beg to express our gratitude to His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore, His Highness the Yuvaraja and His Highness the Maharaja's Government for the encouragement and help that has been continued to us during the Session under review.

We are happy to avail ourselves of this opportunity to offer our heartiest congratulations to our President and two of our Vice-Presidents for the honours recently conferred on them by His Most Gracious Majesty the King-Emperor, to Rajasevadhurina Sir M. Kantaraja Urs, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., for having been appointed a Knight of the Most Eminent Order of the Indian Empire, to Mr. A. R. Banerji, C.S.I., C.I.E., who has been made a Companion of the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India and to our President, who has been awarded the Badge of a Member of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire.

The Rev. Father A. M. Tabard, M.A., M.B.E., M.R.A.S., President of the Society, moved the adoption of the Report in the following words:—

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS.

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

It is always a very great pleasure for me to stand here year after year to propose the adoption of the Report as I know that, as long as our General Secretary is able to place before us such satisfactory Reports, the motion will be carried unanimously.

I also feel at these annual meetings like a parent who is watching his child, delicate at his birth, grow up as a sturdy lad in robust health and with the promise of a bright future and a long and useful career before him.

The Report, which has been submitted to us, calls for very few remarks and those I propose to make will be merely by way of comments.

Our membership is increasing but slowly. Eight years ago at the annual Meeting with the Hon'ble Sir Hugh Daly, British Resident, in the Chair, I said that I would never rest till our membership had reached 1,000. We are still very far from that figure. The reason may be that the Mythic Society is not as widely known as it ought to be. It indeed strikes me that, were its objects better known, many more in and out of Mysore would deem it a privilege to belong to it. All newcomers to India are anxious to know something of this wonderful land. India's children very often feel also that they know too little of Indian History, Literature and Philosophy. Membership of our Society and access to our Library will help both towards knowing and loving India better. With this end in view then, I again appeal to all our members to exert themselves to stand by me to reach the goal; to reach this goal it is after all only necessary for each member to bring us another member during the coming session. Have I set my hopes too high? Will my appeal fall on deaf ears? It is to each of you to see that in our next Report we may sing the paean of triumph:—At last we have done it! At last the Mythic Society counts one thousand members!

Our finances are sound but as our Secretary has just reminded us the cost of the Journal and incidental expenses exceed our total receipts from subscriptions. Up to now we have made up the deficit out of special donations which we have been able to obtain from generous benefactors. But for my mind to be at rest, as far as our financial condition goes, I would ask our members to pay their subscriptions with the utmost regularity. If this is done and if we close each year's accounts without a large outstanding, if more members convert their annual membership into life membership, and if the number of our members increase in an appreciable manner then shall we be able not only to keep up our Journal at

its present high level but also to launch out some other schemes which will increase the sphere of the Society's usefulness and influence.

The generous contributions from the Mysore Government towards the upkeep of the Hall and adjoining grounds enable us to maintain this spot as an ornament to our beautiful City and encourage us to entertain favourably any application for the use of our Hall for meetings of Associations directly or indirectly connected with the Mysore Government.

With regard to our Library, I feel I must add a personal word of thanks to the Mysore Government for having so promptly redeemed the promise the Dewan Saheb gave us at our last meeting and for having entrusted to our care many valuable books which have now, thanks to the Mysore Durbar's courtesy, become available to the public. In this connection, I would remind the members of the Society that our Library is not a lending but a consulting Library. We cannot possibly allow our books to be indiscriminately taken out of the premises for fear of some of our treasures being lost or damaged. Besides we feel responsible, as trustees of the Mysore Durbar, for the proper care we have promised to take of the books entrusted to us.

Exceptions are provided for in our rules where it is stated that, in special cases, for instance when a member is preparing a Paper for our Journal, with the written permission of the President to be obtained in each case, books may be taken out of the premises, but always on the understanding that it must be for a very short period.

The inconvenience, if inconvenience there be, cannot possibly be very great as our Library is opened practically every day not only to members of the Society but also to the general public.

May I now make a few suggestions concerning the activities of the Society during the ensuing Session ?

One that occurs to me and which will certainly be welcome to our European members is that we might have one or two Papers on proper Indian names. No doubt each name has a special meaning but in most cases even I do not know it. I suppose many of those proper names have some reference to several aspects of Hindu Mythology and probably to some episode taken from the Puranas. This may look very simple to our Indian members but I can assure them that it would prove fascinating to the European members who have only a hazy idea of the difference between a Smartha, Vaishnava or Madhva Brahmin, between an Iyer and Iyengar, who do not know the meaning, when attached to a proper name, of Murti or of Rao, who are always at a loss to know how to differentiate between several castemarks and who find Indian names, especially in Southern India, so difficult to pronounce because they have no idea of their meaning.

Another suggestion.—Our Journal is rather rich in articles on Indian Archæology, History, Philosophy and Literature, but extremely poor with regard to Ethnology. As long as the late lamented Mr. H. V. Nanjundiah was alive and publishing his learned and most illuminating bulletins on Mysore Ethnology I was not so much impressed with this desideratum in the activities of our Society. Now that he has disappeared from our midst and that no one seems to be continuing his work in that direction, I recommend this branch of research to our future lecturers.

A third suggestion.—Last year I took the liberty to suggest that the Mysore Government might entrust to us the care of the monuments of historical interest in the Bangalore Fort, Tippu's palace and the Dungeons. I again beg to be allowed to make the same suggestion this year assuring the Mysore Durbar that we are disposed to assume that charge and that, if we are entrusted with the care of those monuments of the past, we shall justify this confidence and make those historical remains known to the outer world, so that no tourist in our parts will leave our city without having visited the only historical remains of which Bangalore can boast. This will be a work of love and as every work of love is always well done, this one we can assure them will be well done inasmuch as it is well within the scope of our Society.

One last word and I have done.—One of the objects the founders of the Society had in view was to bring Indians and Europeans together on a platform where there would be nothing but perfect concord and harmony as both love India and cannot help being interested in her glorious past whether it be in the fields of History or of Archæology. I must say that it is very gratifying to me to see that that object has been attained. All, Indians and Europeans, Brahmins and Non-Brahmins, lecture on this platform, write papers for our Journal, attend our meetings and mix together with the utmost cordiality and goodwill, our Committee is composed of both and as a symbol of that union and co-operation the highest representatives of both kindly accept to preside in turn at our Annual Meetings, H. H. the Yuvaraja, Col. Sir Hugh Daly, Sir M. Visvesvaraya, Mr. H. V. Cobb, Mr. J. S. Chakravarti, Sir Leslie Miller, last year the Dewan Saheb, this year the British Resident. This happy co-operation is not the least good done by the Mythic Society and had no other results been achieved, I would still congratulate myself on having been instrumental in bringing the Society into existence.

With these remarks, I have the honour to move that the Report and Accounts for 1920-21 be adopted.

Mr. V. R. Thyagaraja Iyer, Census Superintendent, seconded the Resolution, which was carried unanimously.

Sir Leslie Miller, Kt., C.B.E., Chief Judge, Chief Court of Mysore, next proposed, in his inimitable style, the re-election of the Rev. Father A. M. Tabard, M.A., M.B.E., M.R.A.S., as President. In doing so, he said that Father Tabard was not a man of words only but a man of deeds as well. He dreamt dreams like other persons but unlike most people he never rested till he had made them a reality. They had just listened to his most suggestive address and they could be sure that those suggestions would soon become facts with Father Tabard as President. The proposition was seconded by Mr. K. Chandy, Excise Commissioner, and carried by acclamation.

Rajakaryaprasakta Rao Bahadur M. Shama Rao then moved that Rajasevadhurina Sir M. Kantaraj Urs, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., be requested to accept an Honorary Vice-Presidentship of the Society. In doing so, he remarked that this would make the Sirdar a permanent Honorary Office Bearer of the Society without being subject to re-election year after year. Mr. C. S. Balasundaram Aiyer, Director of Industries, seconded the motion, which was carried unanimously amidst applause. Praktana Vimarsa Vichakshana Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhachar, Director of Archæological Researches, proposed the election of Office Bearers for the Session 1921-22. This was duly seconded by Rajakaryaprasakta Rao Bahadur D. Shama Rao and carried.

CHAIRMAN'S REMARKS.

The Chairman, rising amidst renewed applause, thanked the members for the honour they had done him in asking him to preside on the occasion. He was glad to have accepted the invitation, as it had brought him into contact with a body of learned men from whom he felt one could learn much about India. He thought the name of the Society was most appropriate. It gave it an air of mystery which was not without attraction. As in the researches the members have to discriminate between what was a myth and what was not, the name "Mythic" seemed to him to have been very well chosen. He concluded his remarks by making a strong appeal to all to become members, and, to those who can afford it, life members, of the Mythic Society.

A vote of thanks to the chair; proposed by Rao Bahadur B. P. Annaswamy Mudaliar, C.I.E., seconded by Mr. G. T. Hall, M.B.E., and carried by acclamation, brought the meeting to a close.

Before the large gathering dispersed, the President had the satisfaction of enlisting several life members, among whom were Rao Bahadur B. P. Annaswamy Mudaliar, Rao Bahadur D. Shama Rao, Mr. D. M. Ramachandra Rao and Mr. G. Philip.

GREATER INDIA: EXPANSION OF INDIA BEYOND THE SEAS.

A lecture delivered before the Mythic Society

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Overland Communication of Northern India.

India falls geographically into two divisions in respect of her communications with the outside world. In spite of the mountain barriers on the north, north-west and north-east, there is a volume of evidence, though of an indirect character, of considerable communication with the rest of Asia; with the portion of China and Indo-Chinese peninsula on the east, with Tibet and the western portion of China in the middle, and Central Asia stretching westwards as far as Asia Minor itself and the Mediterranean on the west. In respect of these overland communications with the west, we have, comparatively speaking, few glimpses by way of evidence. The discovery of the Bogaz-Keui inscription referring to the Vedic Deities, Mitra, Varuṇa, Indra and Nāsatya, and the Aryan character of the people Mittani have led to the inference of a movement of a section of the Aryan westwards into that region. The irruptions of the Kassites who over-ran Babylonia about four centuries previous to this, also implies the existence of a powerful community of Aryan speaking people so far out. The question wherefrom they came is involved in the general problem of the Aryan home which is still matter for discussion. The representation of apes, Indian elephants and Baktrian camels on an obelisk of Shalmanesser III in B.C. 860 gives the first clear indication of a communication between India and Assyria. It is the expansion of the Empire under Cyrus and his successor Darius that brings the Persian Empire directly into touch with India and opens the way for the establishment of regular communication with western Asia. Similarly on the eastern side, there is evidence of considerable early communication with the east; much of the continental civilisation of the Indo-Chinese peninsula seems derivable from northern India of the Buddhistic age, some of which may possibly be referable to a time much earlier. This communication of northern India with the outside world is not what concerns us directly

Overseas Communication of South India.

Such communication as South India had with the rest of the world must of necessity have been across the ocean. The early navigators of the Indian Ocean seem to have been many and the history of this subject is only very partially worked for the satisfactory reason that the material that exists for such work is, at the very best, inadequate. The Egyptian efforts under the Pharaohs have reference only to the coasts of Arabia and of Africa certainly as far down as Somali land, and it may be much farther down towards Zanzibar. The expeditions to Punt under the eleventh dynasty and before have had for their object various articles of value to the Egyptians. The most famous of this enterprise under the Pharaohs is the expedition sent out by the great Queen Hatsheput and had for its object the bringing of quantities of gold, incense and other articles, much prized in Egypt. They are all of them represented on her monument at Behr-el-deri. It is possible to refer some of these articles to India; but most of them are obtainable in the region of the Somali Coast. It is the enterprise of Alexander which found its visible embodiment in the founding of Alexandria, that gave additional stimulus to this navigation of the Indian Ocean, and under the Ptolemies, great efforts were made to open the Red Sea trade with the East. It is set down to the credit of Ptolemy-Philadelphus that he cut a canal connecting the Nile with the Red Sea, either newly or by opening out an old channel. As a necessary corollary to this, he founded a number of ports on the Red Sea. Of these Ptolemaic foundations, Arsinoe near the Suez and Berenice lower down of the Red Sea coast, appear most prominent. Almost up to the time of the Roman conquest however, the trade seems to have been carried on even in Indian commodities from the great exchange marts of Arabia Felix, or as the Greeks called it, Eudaemon, *i.e.*, the coast district round Aden. The discovery of blue cloth wrapped round some mummies recently excavated, and the further discovery that they were all dyed blue with Indian indigo is clear evidence of Indian trade, but not necessarily of communication with India. With the Roman conquest of Egypt, a new impetus is given to this eastern trade and we come upon a new era of nautical enterprise on this side of Egypt.

Indian Trade with Western Asia.

In respect of Indian trade with western Asia, the matter seems to rest on a somewhat better footing. The earliest definite reference that we can get is a commercial expedition sent out by Solomon with the assistance of Hiram of Tyre. According to Josephus, Solomon gave the command to the pilots of the expedition, "that they should go along with his stewards to the land that of old was called, Ophir, but now Aurea Chersonesus, which belongs to India to fetch gold." The expedition left Ezion-Gebir (Akaba at the head

of the Gulf of Suez), and was three years on its voyage. It brought with it 420 talents of gold, almug wood, ivory, apes and peacocks. According to the statement of Josephus, the objective of the expedition should have been the Malay peninsula, the golden Chersonese of Milton. Several scholars take it to mean the Malay peninsula and Sumatra, both of which produced enormous quantities of gold and came to be known to the inhabitants of India by the name Suvarṇa Bhûmi. But the variant of the name in the Septuagent is Sophir. Sophir can be considered equivalent in form to Ophir if the word with "S" passed through Persia. Sophir is the proper form nearest to the Indian equivalent. This is the Coptic name for the whole of the country India and might have been derived from Sauvira which ought to have been one of the stages or the final stage which the mercantile fleet of India left as the last part of a coasting voyage. The only difficulty that scholars appear to have felt against this identification seems to be the 420 talents of gold. That this region Sauvira, between the mouths of the Indus and Broach, produced gold is in evidence in the name of one of the rivers being "golden sands" (Suvarṇa-sikatā). This name is found recorded in the Junagad inscription, of the famous Kṣatrapa king, Rudradâman, of A.D. 150. Of about the same time, we have another reference to a region lower down the west coast of India, which contained gold mines. The territory of North and South Kanara under the Tamil chief Nannan is said to have contained hills showing gold-veins. What is more telling as a piece of evidence is a story connected with this chieftain, who had been branded with ignominy by the distinctive epithet woman-killer, as a result thereof. He is said to have had a fruit garden producing specially delicious fruits. A girl who went to a canal for water picked up a fruit floating down the canal which happened to be running through the royal garden. She took the fruit and ate it without a thought, and for this great crime against "His Majesty", the king ordered the girl to be killed. Her parents and relatives offered to ransom her by giving to the king a life-size statue of the girl in solid gold or whatever else the king might require by way of ransom. The story concludes by saying that the king refused the offer, and handed himself down to evil fame as woman-killer. The river Kaveri is known to classical Tamil Literature by the name Ponni and this name is said to have been given to it as it carried gold in her sand. Hence the difficulty on the score of gold ceases to be of force in regard to this identification. Taking the other articles, the almug wood, is no other than the Sandal. It occurs in Greek as Santalon and could have come from Tamil Śandana or Sanskrit chandana, the pure Tamil word for it is *āram*. This is a peculiar product of the Malaya hills the southern portion of the Western Ghats.

Indian names of imported articles.

Apes are known in Hebrew as koph. In Egyptian the word takes the form kafu, and these are derived from the Sanskrit word kapi. Satin (cotton cloth) becomes sadain in Hebrew and sinthon in Greek, probably from Sanskrit sindhu. These are all traceable to a part of India where the prevailing language was Sanskrit. There are words however for two articles imported from India which cannot be traced to Sanskrit, and these are peacock and rice. *Peacock* occurs in Hebrew in the form of *tukim*. In Persian, it occurs as *tavus*; in Greek as *tofos*. All of them seem derivable from the original *togai*, which is unmistakably at the worst Tamil-Malayalam. Rice occurs in Aramaic in the form *aruz*; Latin, *oryza*; Greek, *oruza*; and Spanish, *arros*, all apparently from the Tamil *arisi*. The last two words must be held decisive, and must have reference to their origin in the Tamil country. This is confirmed by the discovery of a beam of teak in the excavations at Ur in Chaldea ascribed to the king Ur-Bagas, the first ruler of united Babylonia *circa* 3000 B.C. according to Sayce and Hewit. A similar teak beam was found by Rassam in the same locality in a building which was known to have been constructed by Nabonidus to the Moon-God in the middle of the 6th century B.C. Another beam of Indian cedar was found in the palace of Nebuchadnezzer at Birs-Nimrud. It is impossible that the teak wood could have gone to these places from anywhere other than the Malabar coast or from Burma. Rice and peacock were known in Athens in their names of Indian derivation in 430 B.C. Thus for about 500 years from the fifth century B.C. backwards, direct communication with India seems probable. That this was across the sea directly from India, and not overland through Persia, may be established by the word for *muslin* being Sinthon without the change of "S" into "H" as the Persians invariably change the "S" of Sanskrit into "H". This direct communication receives some confirmation from the fact that the South Indians, particularly of the classical Tamil literature, knew of the western people by the designation *Yavana*, not by the northern designation of Yona, even after the days of Asoka, showing thereby that communication between the Yavana region and South India began at an age when the Greek digamma had not dropped out of the word. The Bavēru-Jātaka, the Suppāraka-Jātaka, and the Mohosada-Jātaka, all of them would be confirmatory equally, though these might well refer to communication between Northern India and Babylon. The explicit statement of Berosus, that the Babylonian market exhibited a crowd of all nationalities, might have included some Indian nationalities as well.

The situation of Ophir.

In respect of the question as to the situation of Ophir, whether it was somewhere in southern Arabia or whether we should look for it on the continent of India or in the Malay peninsula, the decisive factor would be the three years' duration of the voyage from Akaba to the region of Ophir and back, which would mean a voyage of more or less 18 months up and 18 months down. An eighteen months' voyage being regarded the fact, it must have been generally a coasting voyage, so far as the westerners were concerned, and it would seem to indicate the coast of India as answering to Ophir, though the Malay peninsula may be just possible. A station on the south coast of Arabia would hardly answer this indication satisfactorily. All this would have reference however only indirectly to the Indians having sailed across even the Arabian Sea. Direct evidence of Indian navigation is however not wanting. Even the Rig Veda knew of hundred oared ships, although these might have reference more to eastern navigation than to western. The Bavēru-Jātaka however is certain evidence of western navigation, as also the Suppāraka-Jātaka. But behind this period lies the far older one of possible communication between the Persian Gulf ports and the west coast of the Indian peninsula. Antiquarians are coming to the opinion that the early Sumerian civilization, the mother of Babylonian, may after all be Indian.*

Early Indian voyages to Babylonia and the West.

Whatever might be the ultimate verdict of scholars in regard to this question, there could be no doubt, even on the indirect evidence available to us, of early communication between Babylon and India. There is considerable reason for the opinion, if it is not yet put beyond doubt, that the Indian borrowed from the Babylonians, the week-days, rather than from the Greeks, leaving the possibility open that they might themselves have originated it.

We have already urged reasons† and are pleased to find ourselves supported in this position by Dr. Vogel in an article he published in the "East and West" for January 1912. We have direct evidence of the westward navigations of the Hindus in two references. The first is that Q. Metellus Celer‡ received from the king of the Suevi some Hindus, who had been driven by storm into Germany in the course of a voyage of commerce according to Cornelius Nepos.

The other is contained in the visit of an Indian named Sophon Indos (Subhānu the Indian) to which reference is made in a Greek inscription found in the ruins of a shrine between the Red Sea port of Berenice and Edfu near

* H. R. Hall : Ancient History of the Near East, pages 173-174.

† *Vide* Beginnings of South Indian History, page 304.

‡ Macrindle's Ancient India, page 110.

the banks of the Nile.[1] The few sentences of Kanarese found by Dr. Hultzsch embodied in a Greek farce contained in the Papyrus of Oxhyrynchus,[2] and the same learned scholar's discovery of a silver coin of Ptolemy Soter in the bazaars of Bangalore would only be evidence of communication, and not of the Indians, voyaging westwards.

With the beginning of the Christian era and with the discovery of the south-west monsoon by Harpalus, voyages of communication became more regular, and we have even reports of Indian Embassies to the Emperor Augustus, one of which is said to have reached him at Terragona in Spain and another in Cyprus. The westward navigation and communication had become so great that there are constant references to Yavana ships coming to the west coast bringing in gold in their well-rigged ships to pay in exchange for the spices that they carried from that coast of the Indian peninsula.[3] What is perhaps a more important point from the Indian side is that these Yavanas had at one time suffered defeat at sea at the hands of the Chera ruler of the west coast, who is said to have punished them by tying their hands behind their back, pouring ghee or oil on their heads and holding them up to ransom after this punishment.[4] There are other references to Yavana. Armed women are referred to as immediate servants of South Indian monarchs, particularly the Pāndya king, and are said to have constituted his body-guard. One of these references is to Yavana wine women handing him western wine in gold cups for the delectation of their royal master.[5] The other is much more interesting as it exhibits these Yavanas constituted as a body-guard of cavalry men. The Pāndya king is described as being in camp in solitary bed over night, and his tent constituted the centre of the camp surrounded by an enclosure of armed women guards. These were separated by partitions of cloth from the tents of the regular guards of Yavanas and Mlēchchas and their camp of occupation. The whole camp was enclosed within a stockade of wooden palisades, sometimes even of the steel javelins that the soldiers carried.[6] The question arises whether these could all be Greeks and whether the Indian king could have obtained so many Greeks that could hire themselves out for service of this character.

The dress and other details of the description seem to lead to the infer-

1 The Ins. is quoted in H. G. Rawlinson's India and the Western World, p. 99; also in the J. R. A. S. 1904, p. 402.

2 J. R. A. S. 1904, p. 399 ff.

3 Ahin 148. Beginnings of South Indian History, p. 121.

4 Padiṟṟuppattu, pp. 22-3, Pandit Swamiaatha Aiyar's edition.

5 Narkkirar in Puram, 56. See also Nedunalvādai, ll. 101-102. Śilappadhikāram XIV, 122-33.

6 Mullaṭippaṭṭu ll. 41-66.

ence that these might have been people other than Greek. It seems far more likely that they were Arabians who let themselves out for service in this fashion. That the ancient Arabs were known by the designation Yavana seems warranted by the term Ethopian applied to the inhabitants of Abyssinia. The term is derived from *atyob* meaning incense, and *Yavan*, the Yavana collectors of incense in the region of the Somali country.* Those that constituted the early inhabitants of this locality are regarded by scholars to be colonists from Arabia. If that is so the term Yavana must be the ordinary designation for an Arabian, at any rate as much as for a Greek. The name Ŝonagar given to Muhammadans of Arab descent in South Indian coast towns is directly in support of this position, and the commentator Nachchinarkinyar renders the term by the term Sonagar in this and other passages. However it is an open question whether the carpenters from Yavana who are said to have worked with a number of other foreign workmen from various divisions of India in the building of Kaveripattanan † were Greek Yavana, or Arabian. It may even be Chinese Yavanas. It would be hazardous to attempt to be precise in the face of the statement contained in the Pattinappâlai, ‡ that one quarter of Kaveripattanam close to the sea was set apart as the quarters of the sea-going inhabitants of various countries who had come in for residence in the course of their voyages and who spoke a multitude of tongues, almost in the same style as Berosus speaks of a multitude of people of all nationalities collecting in Babylon market. The picture that we can derive of this branch of Indian enterprise from the classical geographers would only confirm this indirectly.

The evidence of Classical Geographers.

The classical geographers, the author of the Periplus§ and Ptolemy, the Geographer, that date respectively about A. D. 80 and A. D. 150, exhibit knowledge of a division of the country that we can derive from Tamil classical literature. The author of the Periplus begins his account of the west of India with the Indus (Sinthus). He says that the river had seven mouths, shallow and marshy, and therefore not navigable. On the shore of the central channel was the sea port Barbaricum with a capital, in the interior, of the Scythians called Minnagara (the city of the Min, Scythians); the port Barbaricum has not satisfactorily been indentified. It seems to be the Sanskrit Barbaraka (belonging to the country of

* Schoff's Periplus, p. 62.

† Manimêkhalai, canto XIX, ll. 107—110.

‡ ll. 214—218; also Śilappadhikaram V, ll. 9-12. The term Yavanar is rendered Ŝonagar by the earlier and Mlêchchar by the later of the two commentators.

§ The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea translated and edited by W. H. Schoff, Secs. 42 to 66.

the Barbara, perhaps the same as the Greek barbarian). Passing down from there, the Periplus comes down the Sūrāshtra coast (Syrashtrene), and the Rann of Couch (Eirinon); sailing across what is the Gulf of Kambay, he takes us to Barygaza (Sans. Bṛgukachcha mod. Broach). With this is said to begin Ariaka "which is the beginning of the kingdom of Nambanus and of all India." In regard to the divisions of that part of the country both Ptolemy and the Periplus agree except for the omission of some details in the latter. The southern limit of the coast of Ariaka is Tindis according to both. The corresponding portion of the country inland is described in the Periplus as Ābhīra, the coast portion being Surāshṭra, as was already stated. This part is described as a fertile country producing wheat, rice, sesame oil and clarified butter; cotton and coarser sorts of cloth made therefrom. Pasturing of cattle seems an important occupation and the people are described as of great stature and dark in colour.* The chief point to note here in connection with this statement of the Periplus is that the coast under reference is described as "the beginning of the kingdom of Nambanus and of all India." The latter expression indicates clearly that whoever Nambanus was, he was, at the time relating to which the author of the Periplus got his information, known to the outside world as the king of India. In other words, it refers to the days of the Āndhra empire of Magadha.

The name Nambanus itself is a correction of the text which has Mambarus. This latter might well be the Lambodara of the Puranic list of the Sātavāhanas or the Andhras of the Dakhan. The chronology of the early rulers among these Sātavāhanas cannot yet be regarded as being definitely settled, and at any rate the expression in the text seems of very doubtful application to identify Nambanus with Nahapana, the Kshaharāta ruler. After describing the difficulties of navigating up to the port of Broach and the arrangement made by the ruler for piloting vessels safely into the port, the Periplus proceeds to give the countries inland set over against that coast between Barbaricum, at the mouth of the Indus obviously, and Broach. He notes among them the Ārattas of the Punjab, the Arachosii of Southern Afghanistan, the Gandaraei (Sanskrit, Gāndhārat and the people of Poelais (Sans: Pushkalāvati) both in the region between the Kabul and the Indus in northern Afghanistan including also the northern portions of the Punjab, where was also the city of Alexandria Bucephalus located very near the Jhelum. Beyond these he says were the warlike Bactrians. He gives an interesting fact that in his day coins bearing Greek inscriptions of Greek legends were circulating in the country

* Note the tradition that Agastya took with him a large colony of people from here in his southward migration.

round Broach, and they contained, according to the Periplus, the devices of the Greek rulers succeeding Alexander, among them Apollodotos and Menander. Coming further east from these countries he speaks of Ozene (Ujjain), and refers to it as the former royal capital. Passing over all that he says about the trade of Broach which is not to our present purpose, we come in Sec. 50 to another statement which is of immediate interest to us. He says " beyond Barigaza the adjoining coast extends in a straight line from north to south, and so this region is called *Dachinabades*, for *Dachan* in the language of the natives means "south". The inland country back from the coast towards the east comprises many desert regions and great mountains; and all kinds of wild beasts, leopards, tigers, elephants, enormous serpents, hyenas, and baboons of many sorts, and many populous nations as far as the Ganges." This clearly indicates that he describes the whole of the region known as the Dakshiṇāpathā or the Dakhan, and the Daṇḍakāraṇyam of the Sanskrit writers; the central region of India corresponding to our modern division of the Dakhan. He then describes the interior marts of Paitan and Tagara, and of the sea-ports along the coast till he reached Naura and Tindis, the first marts of Damirica as he calls them. Sanskrit Dramiḍaka is the correct equivalent of the Greek, and the Tamiḻakam of the Tamil classics, Damirica, sometimes written by error Lymirica, is the Sanskrit Dramiḍaka which the author must have heard in contradistinction to Āriaka. It is perhaps a little far-fetched to see in it Tamiḻakam except through the Sanskritised Dramiḍaka. With Tindis began, according to both Ptolemy and the Periplus, the kingdom of Cherabothra (Chēraputra or Kēralaputra). The next port of importance we come to, is 50 miles from Tindis again at the mouth of a river; the port called Muziris (Muyiri or Muširi of the Tamils, the modern Cranganore). Fifty miles further south was the sea-port of Nelcynda which the late Mr. Kanakasabhai Pillai correctly identified with Nirkuṇram in the country of the Pāṇḍyas. This place was situated about ten or twelve miles in the interior with an out-port at the mouth of the river, the village Bakare-Vaikkarai, as we know it now. The kings of both these market towns, the Periplus says " live in the interior." The imports into Muzyris are given " as a quantity of coin; topaz, thin clothing, not much figured linens, antimony, coral, crude glass, copper, tin, lead; wine not much but as much as at Barigaza; realgar and orpiment; and wheat only for the sailors, for this is not dealt in by the merchants there." The exports from this place are the " pepper coming from Kottanora (Kutta Nādu in the interior)", " great quantities of fine pearls", ivory, silk cloth, spikenard from the Ganges, Malabathrum from the interior, transparent stones of all kinds, diamonds and saphires and tortoise-shell, " that from the Chryse island (golden) and that taken from among the islands

along the coast of Damirica." One may so far compare this statement with the following two extracts from Tamil Literature :—

(1) The Kuṭṭuvan king of the beautiful garland dropping honey like water, gives away in head-loads to those that go to him the sandal from the hill and the pearl from the sea, along with the gold brought in payment by ships, and carried by canal boats into his port of Muśiri of the noisy beach—Paranār in Puram 343.

(2) The prosperous Muśiri to which come the well rigged ships of the Yavanas tearing up the foaming great river Sulḷi of the Chera, carrying gold to pay for the cargo of pepper with which they returned usually—Kāttur Tāyaṃ Kaṇṇan in Aham. 148.

Beyond Vaikkarai, the Periplus refers to the dark-red mountains and of the district (stretching along the coast towards the south) " Paralia" generally taken as equivalent to Pural meaning coast ; the first port in this coast region is what he calls Balita, identified with Varkali or Janārdanam, which in those days had a fine harbour and a village by the sea shore. Then comes Kumāri with a cape and a harbour. It is also referred to as a holy bathing place, and the coast region is then described as extending eastwards till it reaches Korkai " where the pearl fisheries are" ; and the Periplus offers the interesting piece of information, " that they are worked by condemned criminals." Then follows another coast region with a region inland called according to the Periplus Ārgaru, taken to be the equivalent of Uraiyūr. Ārgaru, however, refers to the Pāndya country, and seems derived from Urgapura, one of the alternative names of Madura, the equivalent of the Tamil Ālavāy and Sanskrit Hālāsaya, more correctly Hālahālsāya. These two regions of the coast country are somewhat differently named in Ptolemy. He calls the region between Nīrkuṇṛam and Camorin as in the country of Aioi (Tamil Āay). Then follows the region which he calls Kareoi (Tamil Karai or Karaiyar, a class of fisher-folk) and the coast country extending from Korkai upwards is spoken of by Ptolemy in two divisions. The country of the Batoi (Tamil Vēttuvar) and Poralia in the country of the Toringoi (error for Soringoi, Cholas). The exports from this region according to the Periplus are: the pearls * collected from part of what was gathered each season in the appointed pearl-fields, and

* Pliny says (Chap. IX. 54—58) :—

Our ladies glory in having pearls suspended from their fingers, or two or three of them dangling from their ears, delighted even with the rattling of the pearls as they knock against each other; and now, at the present day, the poorer classes are even affecting them, as the people are in the habit of saying that a pearl worn by a woman in public is as good as a lictor walking before her. Nay, even more than this, they put them on their feet, and that not only on the laces of their sandals but all over the shoes; it is not enough to wear pearls, but they must tread upon them and walk with them under foot as well. (*Continued on page 20.*)

a kind of fine muslin called Argaritic. The most important ports mentioned on the Coromandel coast by the Periplus are three: Camara (identified with Kaveripaṭṭaṇam), Poduca (may be a Puduvai) and it is doubtful whether it stands for Pondicherry or a place in the vicinity. Then Sopatma (Tamil Śopaṭṭinam or fortified-port (Phrurion of Ptolemy). There come ships from what he calls Damirica and from the north,for the exchange of commodities. Here the Periplus has an important statement to make in respect of the capacity for navigation of the Tamils. In these ports that he mentions, he says, were ships of two kinds, those intended for coasting voyages as far as Damirica, as he calls it; these were small and large and are called by him *Sangara*. Those intended, however, for the voyages to Chryse and to the Ganges were called, according to him *Colandia*, and are described as very large. The term Chryse which in Greek is the equivalent of gold, seems to refer to Suvarṇabhūmi in Sanskrit, and has been indentified with the Malaya peninsula, spoken of by the Periplus in another place as an island. That it indicates the region about the Malaya peninsula is clear from what he says in regard to the direction of the land: "Just opposite this river (Ganges) there is an island in the ocean the last port of the inhabited world to the east under the rising sun itself; it is called Chryse and it has the best tortoise-shell of all the places on the Erythræan Sea." There are said to be imported into these ports everything that is made in Damirica "the greatest part of what is got from Egypt." Then he proceeds to mention Palaesimundu, "called by the ancients Taprobane." Further north from this, according to him, was the region Masalia, and further north of this Dosarene (Sanskrit Dasārṇa). Ptolemy, however, interpolates between the Chola coast and Maisalia (Masalia of the Periplus) the country of the Arouvarnoi or Arvarnoi (the Aruvālar of the Tamils) whose country was known to the Tamils in two divisions Aruvānāḍu and Aruvā-Vaḍa-talai (northern Aruvā) which would take us more or less close to the mouth of the Krishna river, the Maisalos of Ptolemy.

"I once saw Lollia Paulina, the wife of the Emperor Caius—it was not at any public festival, or any solemn ceremonial, but only at an ordinary betrothal entertainment covered with emeralds and pearls, which shone in alternate layers upon her head, in her hair, in her wreaths, in her ears, upon her neck, in her bracelets, and on her fingers, and the value of which amounted in all to 40,000,000 sesterces; indeed she was prepared at once to prove the fact by showing the receipts and acquittances. Nor were these any presents made by a prodigal potentate, but treasures which had descended to her from her grandfather, and obtained by the spoliation of the provinces. Such are the fruits of plunder and extortion. It was for this reason that M. Lollius was held so infamous all over the East for the presents which he extorted from the kings; the result of which was, that he was denied the friendship of Caius Caesar, and took poison; and all this was done, I say, that his grand-daughter might be seen, by the glare of lamps covered all over with jewels to the amount of forty millions of sesterces."

Of the trade of this coast, the most important ports are the three referred to already, and the imports of trade are set down as including everything made in Damirica, and "the greatest part of what is brought at any time from Egypt comes here together with most kinds of all the things that are brought from Damirica and of those that are carried through Paralia".

We have similar reference to the imports at Kaveripaṭṭaṇam in the Tamil work Paṭṭinappālai[1] "horses were brought from distant lands beyond the seas, pepper was brought in ships, gold and precious stones came from the northern mountains, sandal and akir (aromatic aloe wood) came from the mountains towards the west, pearls from the southern seas and coral from the eastern seas. The produce of the regions watered by the Ganges; all that is grown on the banks of the Kaveri, articles of food from Iḷam or Ceylon and the manufactures (articles of consumption would be nearer the original) Kāḻakam in Sumatra." This looks like a restatement in a somewhat expanded form of what is found briefly stated in the Periplus.

Tamil knowledge of the Eastern Archipelago.

It was already pointed out in the previous section that the Malabar coast got into touch with the western world, Egypt, Western Asia and across as far as the western extremity of Europe. The Hebrew references to various articles of Indian, particularly South Indian, production, the Bavēru Jātaka[2] which apparently relates to Babylon, the Suppāraka Jātaka[3] and a story in the Kathāsaritsāgara relative to the westward voyage from the port of Patri, and the Sanskrit origin of the name of the island Sokotra, all these might be cited as evidence of westward trade, at any rate, as arguing familarity with navigation on that side. That Indians took part in these distant voyages is directly stated in the references in Tacitus to a Hindu sailor having been stranded in the region of the North[4] Sea.

There is further evidence of a reference in an Egyptian inscription to a Sophon-Indos (Subhānu, the Indian)[5] in the heart of Egypt apparently, along the road from the Red Sea to Alexandria. The busy and the profitable character of the western trade and the part that the Roman empire took in it in the early centuries of the Christian era have already been indicated. The question in these circumstances would naturally arise whether the Tamils

1 Paṭṭiṇappālai, *ll.* 127 *ff.*

2 The Jātakas, Trans. by Cowell and Rouse, No. 339, III, p. 83.

3 *Ibid.* No. 463.

4 Macrindle's Ancient India, p. 110.

5 H. G. Rawlinson's India and theWestern World, pp. 99, where the Gk. Ins. is quoted. Also J. R. A. S., 1904.

had any knowledge of the Eastern Archipelago, and whether they ever came into direct touch with it. The Eastern Archipelago was a region with which the Tamils were much more familiar apparently, and their commercial efforts seem to have gone on as far as the comparatively distant coast even of China.[1]

Evidence from Tamil Literature.

We have direct evidence on the Tamil side of not merely knowledge of the islands near the eastern shore of the Bay of Bengal, but also of regular commercial voyages and even settlements of people. During the period with which we are concerned, people in the south, particularly the coast of the Chola country, kept up a busy trade oversea. The principal ports from which these fleets of commerce started and of which we have any reference are two in the Chola country, namely, Kaveripaṭṭaṇam at the mouth of the Kaveri, and Toṇḍi farther south on the coast of Ramnad set over against Jaffna. Puhār which is the Tamil name for the port at the mouth of the Kaveri is spoken of as a great port where a crowd of merchant shipping brought in horses from across the waters, spices, particularly pepper, gold and precious gems from the northern mountains (Himalayas), sandal and aloe-wood (Agil) from the western hills, pearls from the southern sea, *coral from the eastern sea*, various kinds of commodities from the Ganges, other commodities coming down the Kaveri, food articles from Ceylon and *the wealth produced in Kāḻaham*, other rare articles (such as, camphor, rose water, etc.), from China and other places.[2]

This catalogue of articles coming from various places in the east into Puhār is confirmed by various references in the Śilappa dhikāram[3] which refers specifically to sugar-candy from the western region of the Yavanas, black aloe from the east, stones for grinding sandal from the northern mountains, and sandal from the southern hills. There is a further reference in the same work to the special quarter of the town near the port occupied by the Yavanas (rendered by the commentator Mlēchchas)[4] and people from various countries whose profession it was to go over sea and trade. Referring to the port of Toṇḍi[5] which in those days was considered a port in the Chola country, the fleet of ships arriving there brought in the following commodities; aromatic-aloe (agil), silk, sandal, fragrant articles and camphor. The commentary explains elaborately the varieties of these

1 In the excavations at Chandravalli Mr. R. Narasimha Chariar found a coin of the Chinese Han. Emperor Wu-ti of the 2nd century B.C., as also a silver dinarius of Augustus.

2 Paṭṭinappālai, lines 185—192, already quoted.

3 Canto IV, lines 35—38. This is also referred in the Neḍunalvāḍai and Perum-Kriṇji.

4 Canto V, lines 9-12.

5 Canto XIV, lines 106—111.

articles that came in indicating also the sources from which they came. In regard to the first agil, four varieties are mentioned of which two seem to take their name undoubtedly from the localities of production. They are respectively named Takkoli (product of Takola) and Kiḍāravan (the product of Kaḍāram). Under Camphor, there are two varieties that are named respectively Vārāśan and Varōšu, both of which seem the Tamil name of Barus or Barusai of Ptolemy, and another variety which is specifically called Ç̣hina camphor. Apart from Barus there stand out the names Takkola and Kaḍāram. Takkola, or as it is sometimes written Takkolam in Tamil, is the famous port in the Malay peninsula near the mouth of the Takopa river which gives the name to one of the aromatic plants, the fruit of which is called Takkolam. The port of Takkola is mentioned as a prominent mart of the east shore of the Bay of Bengal by Ptolemy. Kaḍāram that is referred to here is apparently the Kaḍāram that is found associated with one of the titles of Rājēndra Chola, and which figures in the records of both Rājēndra Chola and his father Rāja Rāja. These records refer to the same place in Sanskrit as well in the form Katāha. Hence we are justified in taking it that the Sanskrit Katāha is the Tamil Kaḍāram. Is it the same as the Tamil Kāḷaham? Kāḷaham used to be rendered hitherto Burma by antiquarians. Kāḷaham is equated with Kaḍāram by the commentator Nachchinārkiniyar, * and the articles of import therefrom referred to by the commentator as "articles of enjoyment," seem similar to the articles that the embassy from San-fo-Chi carried to China in the 10th and 11th centuries of the Christian era. We seem therefore justified in taking Kāḷaham, Kaḍāram and Katāha all of them to be one place, and that place as being the island or group of islands dominated by Sumatra, the Śāvakam of the Tamils, the Yavadvipa of Sanskrit and Sabadiu of Ptolemy. The classic Maṇimēkhalai has much to say in its own legendary fashion of Śāvakam and a mythical king of the island by name Puṇyarāja. The work refers to a famine, for the relief of which a man possessed of a miraculous bowl, which supplied food without its being ever exhausted, agreed to go. The information of the famine was given to him in one of the ports of the Pāṇḍya country by a body of people who came from oversea. He started with the next commercial fleet that sailed forward toward the east. Being overtaken by a storm the fleet had to go for shelter to one of the inlets round Ceylon. When the fleet set sail again they sailed away in the belief that he was on board. † In another connection the same work refers to an island which the work calls the island of the naked Nāgas, apparently Nakkāvāram, the modern Nicobars then inhabited by naked

* The Nighaṇṭu Pinglandai gives the equation also.

† Canto XIV

cannibals. The particular point to notice in this connection is that the particular individual concerned was born a rich man and had squandered away all his wealth in evil company. Disgusted with himself he set forward on a new life and got into the company of a body of merchants trading overseas. In the course of the voyage the fleet of ships got tempest-tossed and several of them destroyed. He took hold of a broken piece of mast and reached the island. The story goes on to say that he was threatened with death having been sighted by the cannibals. He managed, however, to satisfy the cannibals that what they were about doing was wrong, and so far persuaded them into friendship to him that they were quite prepared to send him away with whatever he cared to take from the accumulated wealth of the previous ship-wrecks near the shore. They brought him quantities of all kinds of articles of wealth and let him take whatever he liked of them and as much as he pleased. When the next regular fleet of ships touched that port under the lead of the merchant chief Chandradatta he got on board ship and sailed across to the Tamil coast. The story indicates regular caravans of ships going backwards and forwards across the sea, and the number of incidental references that we get to various matters connected with overseas navigation in this class of works leads to the conclusion that they were familiar with the islands on the eastern shore of the Bay of Bengal. This is confirmed by the specific statement of the author of the Periplus in reference to the eastern parts of the Tamil country that " there are ships of the country coasting along the shore as far as Damirica,* large vessels made of single logs bound together called Sangara ; but those which make the voyage to the Chryse† and to the Ganges are called Colandia and are very large."‡

Other confirmatory evidence.

There are various pieces of evidence of a somewhat indefinite character which would lead to the inference that there were a large number of settlements of the Tamils in this region and that the southern culture had spread so far out as the Eastern Archipelago itself. This is made clear in the account of the voyage of Fa-hein on his return journey from Ceylon to China. He set sail from Ceylon and was caught in a storm, and after a difficult and dangerous voyage arrived at Javadvipa (the Tamil Śāvakam) where he found "various forms of error and *Brahmanism flourishing*" while he found, much to his regret, that the Buddhists in the locality were not worth speaking of. This character of the Indian emigrants in the Eastern Archipelago is in a way put beyond a doubt altogether by the so-called Yūpa inscriptions of a king Mūla-

* Meaning apparently to the end of the Tamil country in the west coast.

† Gold country, Suvarṇabhūmi, the Malay peninsula, generally.

‡ Schoff's Periplus, page 46, Sec. 60.

varman found in East Borneo (edited formerly by Dr. Kern), and of which an excellent new edition is given us by Dr. J. Ph. Vogel. These inscriptions are four in number and refer to a colony of Brahmans who celebrated a Yāga (sacrificial rite) in the true orthodox Vedic style giving at the end of the ceremony various gifts including even the *Kalpavṛikshadāna* * (gift of gold wish-giving tree of the same form as in nature).

These are put on the Yūpa-sthambhas (sacrificial-posts) by the Brahmans who officiated at the sacrifice. Unfortunately the inscriptions are not dated but they are of the "Pallava-Grantha" character which Dr. Burnell called "Vengi-alphabet", a misnomer which is now no more accepted. Here are the words of the learned editor who gives us the revised version: "Among the epigraphical records of Southern India we cannot point to any specimen which exhibits exactly the same style of writing as is found in the earliest inscriptions of the Archipelago. But among the southern alphabets, it is undoubtedly the archaic type of the ancient *grantha* character (to retain Bühler's terminology) used by the early Pallava rulers of the Coromandel coast, which appears to be most closely related to the character of the Koetei epigraphs." Arguing on palæographical grounds alone and admitting the defective state of our knowledge of the palæography of this particular period Dr. Vogel would ascribe this inscription to the middle of the 4th century A.D. This would indicate that in that early period there were colonies of Brahmans apparently from South India so far east as East Borneo celebrating a sacrifice there and handing down the fact of such celebration by putting up inscriptions on the very sacrificial posts in the unmistakably South Indian characters of the 4th century of the Christian era. Whether these colonies maintained any connection with India which could be regarded as of a political-character and whether such colonisation would warrant any assumption of a greater India are questions categorical answers to which we cannot yet give with the material available for this period.

The character of this Period of South Indian History.

This period with which we are concerned in this portion of South Indian history is coeval with the position of dominance of the Āndhras in the Dakhan and over the empire of the Mauryas. The question would naturally arise whether these Āndhras had anything to do with South India. As far as the material available to us goes they do not appear to have been brought into direct connection unless we could interpret the hostile Āryas who figure in the history of many of the Tamil rulers as indicating the contemporary Āndhra sovereigns of the north, as in the case of the Chera who defeated the Āryas, and the elder Pāṇḍya, the hero of the Śilappadhikāram

* The expression *sakalpavrikshadāna* in the inscription is badly rendered.

who claims to have defeated the Aryas as well. There is a more precise reference to the *Kannar* in the Silappadhikāram. This term could be rendered Karṇas, and they are clearly stated to be "the hundred Karṇas". Whatever the significance of the hundred may be by itself, it is doubtful if we could regard it as the equivalent, even by mistake, of the Satakanis or Sātakarṇis of the Dakhan.

These last, however, have left us a few inscriptions among the earliest of which is a Prakrit inscription of the second century A.D. This is on a pillar at Maḷavaḷḷi in the Shikārpūr taluk of the Shimoga District, recording a grant by Hāriṭiputra-Sātakarṇi for the God Īśvara of the village.* The next inscription comes from the same taluk and is on a pillar standing in front of the Praṇavēśvara temple. This record states that the God Praṇavēśvara had been worshipped by Sātakarṇi and other kings. Near the town of Chittaldrug itself some recent excavations unearthed several lead coins of the Āndhra-bhṛityas and their Viceroys. The prakrit inscription on the Maḷavaḷḷi pillar is followed by an inscription of the early Kadamba king, Kakutsthavarma dated by the late Professor Kielhorn, about the middle of the 6th century, though the character of the reference may indicate the century previous. The inscription (Shikārpūr 176) known as the Tāḷguṇḍa pillar inscription contains further reference to this Kakusthavarman and gives him credit for the construction of the tank in front of the temple.† This Kakusthavarma was a contemporary of the Guptas and seems to have entered into matrimonial alliance with them.‡ During this period therefore the Āndhra power stretched southwards as far as northern Mysore. Their frontier extended southwards on the eastern side as far as the south Pennār at one time as their ship coins found in the region between the two Pennārs would enable us to infer. Generally speaking, however, the Āndhra power came into touch with the Tamils on the northern frontier marked by Tirupati and Pulikat. The wild people called Vaḍukar by the Tamils must have interposed between the Tamils and the Āndhras. It was probably to keep guard over this somewhat dangerous frontier one capital of the Āndhras was located Dhanyakaṭaka near Amarāvati in the Guntur district. This would mean that the Krishna in this region constituted the normal southern frontier of the Āndhras. This position

* Shikārpūr 263. *Ep. Car.*, Vol. VII.

† *Ibid.* 176.

‡ Mr. Rice would date the record in the fourth century apparently on the ground that Kakusthavarman claims to have entered into marriage alliances with the Guptas, that is, according to him Samudra Gupta who came as far south as Kāñchī in his southern conquests. This is hardly necessary but the boast would be pointless if we date the record at a period when the Gupta power was on the decline *i.e.*, the sixth century. The fifth century would be a better date.

of the Āndhras and the interposition of the tribes of Vaḍukar between them and the Tamils raises the question whether the Āndhras of to-day, the Telugu-speaking peoples, can lay claim to any affinity with the imperial Andhras of the two centuries on either side of the beginning of the Christian era. The evidence available to us at present does not seem to warrant a categorical answer one way or the other. The Āndhras are described as Āryan people who had given up the Āryan customs and practice in religion, in other words mlechchhas, or even Vrâtyas. In the Mahābhārata the region of wild tribes is said to have intervened between the Āndhras and the Tamil country which constitutes at the present time the heart on the Āndhra country. It is a well-known phenomenon, in histroy that people still in tribal organization keep moving forward from place to place and give their name to the districts that they might occupy for the time being. Their name certainly attaches itself to the locality where they effected something like a permanent settlement. Even other people that come and settle in that locality afterwards take their name from the district rather than give their name to the district. The present day Andhras are undoubtedly Āndhras in the sense that they occupy the Āndhra country, but whether they are the legitimate successors of the Āndhras by race is more than can be postulated on the evidence available to us so far. Unless the reference to the Aryas in Tamil literature be to the Āndhras of the Dakhan (or the imperial Āndhras if they ever rose to that dignity), it may be safely stated that the Andhras as such do not find mention in Tamil literature. There is a chieftain known by the name of Āay-Aṇḍiran. The second word of this name is rendered Āndhra by some. It is just possible that it is the Tamilised form of the word Andhra.* It would be unsafe, however, to assert that the Āndhras, as such, came and settled in the south. This position is made still more difficult by the reference to the Vaḍukar, which term occurs very often in the literature of this period. Vaḍukar is the present day vernacular name for the Telugu-speaking people in the Tamil country ; but they are described still as in the same savage stage of frontier tribes living as marauders. They are located in the region immediately to the north of the Tamil frontier of Pulikat and Tirupati. This would seem to preclude the equation that the Tamils regarded the Vaḍukar and the Āndhras as one. Hence for the time the question has to remain open whether the Telugus of the present day as a body should be traced to the Vaḍukar or to the Āndhras.

* If the term Aṇḍar used to designate shepherds comes from the Sanskrit Andhaka, a Tamil derivation seems impossible, there is justification for this interpretation. The term Aṇḍiran is used in this compound in contradistinction to the term Eyinan in Āay-Eyinan, undoubtedly denoting the caste or tribe from which he came. The two names would stand Āay, the shepherd and Āay the hunter.

It thus seems clear that the Tamil country remained a compact territory with a well-defined frontier in the north inhabited by wild tribes who were kept under control, separating the Tamil country from the territory of the Āndhras. This Tamil country remained the asylum of the orthodox Brahmanical religion, which was able to hold its own as against the sister religions of Jainism and Buddhism within its own territory. During the four or five centuries of its history from the period of Asoka onwards the Tamils seem to have set themselves up in opposition to the systematic propagation of Buddhism under the imperial influence of Asoka himself. This apparently it was that caused the perpetual hostility between Buddhist Ceylon and the Tamil country set over against it, particularly the Chola country. This attitude of hostility would naturally have continued when the Āndhras succeeded to the empire of Asoka and his successors in the South. So the Āndhras were kept out of the Tamil country on the northern frontier. The Tamil country therefore remained the land of freedom in point of religion, and Brahmanism seems to have received the countenance, if not the active support, of the rulers and the body of the people as a whole. Hence the development of Brahmanism here was on the more natural orthodox lines which do not exhibit the ever-recurring reorganization necessitated by the impact of foreign invaders and hostile religions.

In the course of this evolution of Brahmanism there appears to have been a stage of orthodoxy when sea-voyage was not held to make a Brahman fall from his high estate—Manu's objection seems to have but a restricted applicability, but the Koetei epigraphs seem to make even the restriction of feeble force, as a prohibition of sea-voyage for the Brahman. That the emigrants apparently started from the Pallava country and not the Tamil country proper may be significant of the fact that these were followers of Baudhāyana and not of Āpastambha.

The Industrial Arts of South India.

Passing on from the political to the industrial condition of India, we have already described the principal seaports, both on the western and eastern seaboard. If, as has been pointed out, there were so many thriving ports and, if foreign merchants sought these for trade at considerable risk of pirates, and if there was so much enterprise in sea-going among the inhabitants of the country itself, the conclusion is irresistible that the country had a prosperous industry, and so, on examination, it appears certainly to have been. Apart from the complaints of Petronius that fashionable Roman ladies exposed their charms much too immodestly by clothing themselves in the "webs of woven wind," as he called the muslins imported from India, Pliny says that India

drained the Roman empire annually to the extent of 55,000,000 sesterces, equal to £ 486,979[1] sending in return goods which sold at a hundred times their value in India.[2] He also remarks in another place, "this is the price we pay for our luxuries and our women."

That the industrial arts had received attention and cultivation in early times in India is in evidence to the satisfaction of the most sceptical mind. The early Tamils divided arts into six groups; ploughing (meaning thereby agriculture), handicrafts, painting, commerce and trade, the learned arts, and lastly the fine arts. Of these, agriculture and commerce were regarded as of the first importance. Flourishing trade pre-supposes a volume of industry, the principal of which was weaving then, as it also has been until recently. Cotton, silk and wool seem to have been the material that were wrought into cloths. Among the woollens we find mention of manufactures from the "wool of rats[3] which was regarded as particularly warm. There are thirty varieties of silks mentioned, each with a distinctive appellation of its own, as distinguished from the imported silks of China which had a separate name. The character of the cotton stuffs that were manufactured is indicated by the comparisons instituted between them and "sloughs of serpents" or "Vapour from milk;" and the general description of these as "those fine textures the thread of which could not be followed even by the eye."

Exports and imports.

The chief exports from the country, as the author of the Periplus says, were these. The produce of the soil like pepper, great quantities of the best pearl are likewise purchased here, ivory, silk in the web, spikenard from the Ganges, malabathrum from the countries further to the east, transparent stones of all sorts, diamonds, rubies and tortoise shell from the Golden Chersonese or from the islands off the coast of Damirike. This is all from the port of Muzuris on the west coast. He goes on to say, there is a great resort of shipping to this port for pepper and malabathrum; the merchants bring out a large quantity of spice, and their other imports are topazes, stibium, coral, flint, glass, brass and lead, a small quantity of wine as profitable as at Barugaza, cinnabar, fine cloth, arsenic and wheat, not for sale but for the use of the crew. That Pliny's complaint about the drain was neither imaginary nor hypersensitive is in evidence in a passage descriptive of Muziris in one of the ancient classics of Tamil literature.[4] Muširi to

1 Mommsen gives the total £11,000,000, £6,000,000 for Arabia, £5,000,000 for India

2 Malabar Manual, Vol. I, pp. 150—1

3 This seems a technical expression meaning the kind of wool which lent itself to weaving.

4 See Aham 148 quoted above.

which come the well-rigged ships of the Yavanas[1], bringing gold and taking away spices in exchange.

Regarding the trade of the east coast, here follows the imports of Puhār; horses were brought from distant lands beyond the seas, pepper, was brought in ships, gold and precious stones came from the northern mountains towards the west[2]; pearls from the southern seas and coral from the eastern seas. The produce of the region watered by the Ganges; all that is grown on the banks of the Kaveri, articles of food from Īḻam (Ceylon) and the manufactures of Kāḻaham (Sumatra)[3] were brought there for sale as was stated already. The products of particular importance received in the port of Toṇḍi (east or Chola Toṇḍi in the Ramnad Dt.) are akir (a kind of black aromatic wood), fine silk, camphor, silk stuff (from China), candy, sandal, scents; and these articles and salt were carried into the interior by means of wagons drawn by teams of oxen, slowly trudging along through town and village, effecting exchanges with commodities for export. Tolls were paid on the way during the journey from the coast up the plateau and back again. They did not forget in those days to maintain a regular customs establishment, the officials of which piled up the grain and stored up the things that could not immediately be measured and appraised, leaving them in the dockyards carefully sealed with the tiger signet of the king.[4]

The Tamils built their own ships; and in the other crafts of the skilled artisan they seem to have attained some proficiency, though they availed themselves of experts from distant places. In the building of the audience hall of the royal palace at Puhār skilled artisans from Magadha, mechanics from Maṟāḷam (Mahratta), smiths from Avantī (Malva), carpenters from Yavana, worked[5] together with the artisans of the Tamil land. There is also mention of a temple of the most beautiful workmanship in the same city, built of Gurjjara[6] workmanship. In the building of forts and in the providing of

1 Yavanas in this connection stand undoubtedly for the foreign Greeks and Romans. Other foreigners also were known and these were called Mlechchas. Mullaipāṭṭu, 61—63 Pandit Swaminatha Aiyar's edition of Pattupāṭṭu.

2 The Western Ghats in Konkan and Tulu seem to have produced gold. See Aham. 70.

3 Paṭṭinappālai 127, ff.

4 Paṭṭinappālai, 134-6. Silappadhikāram, Canto VI, ll. 120—30.

5 Maṇimēkhalai, Canto XIX, ll. 107.

6 *Ibid* xvii. 1, 145. This has reference to the small temple of Śampāpati, the Guardian-deity of Puhār. The Tamil Kachchara can have a number of equivalents in Sanskrit and Prakrit, one of which of course is Gurjara. If it is proved that the Gurjaras were unknown in India before the end of the fifth century A.D., this equation with Gurjara will have to be given up. Apart from this it is possible we get a more satisfactory equivalent. Either way this cannot be held to be a decisive test of chronology.

them with weapons and missiles, both for offence and defence, the Tamils had attained to something like perfection twenty-four such weapons are mentioned among the defence of Madura.*

Social, religious, etc., conditions of South India.

Passing from the industrial to the literary, social and religious condition of the south, which we have so far been considering, we have again to do with the three kingdoms, each with a capital city and a premier port. The Cholas had their capital at Uraiyūr, with Puhār for an alternative capital and chief port; the Pāṇḍyas had their capital at Madura, with the port and premier Viceroyalty at Korkai; the Chēras had their capital at Vanji, with the principal port Muziris, and Viceroyalty at Tondi. The Cholas had their premier Viceroy, who was generally the heir-apparent, or at least a prince of the blood, at Kānchi. These towns and ports, therefore, bulk very largely in the literature and literary traditions of the period. The road from Kānchi to Trichinopoly appears to have passed through Tirukkovilūr. From Trichinopoly (*i.e.*, Uraiyūr) to Madura it lay along the more arid parts of the Trichinopoly district to Koḍumbai (Koḍumbāḷūr) in the state of Pudukotta, and thence to Neḍumguḷam; from which place the road broke into three and led to Madura in three branches. From this last town a road kept close to the banks of the river Vaigai up to the Palnis; and from there it went up the hills and down again along the banks of the Periyar to the town of Vanji, situated near its mouth. There were also other roads besides; one at least, from Vanji, to the modern Karur and thence on to Tirukkovilūr.

These roads were not safe in all parts alike, there being certain portions of them that passed through desert regions, inhabited by wild tribes who were a cause of terror to the way-farers, particularly those who had something to lose, notwithstanding the fact that robbery was punished with nothing short of impalement. Journeys were none the less frequent for purposes of pilgrimage or in search of patronage for learning, or for the profits of commerce.

Sources of information and criticism.

I have gathered my facts from a vast body of Tamil literature only recently made available to the student. I now proceed to consider the sources of the information, which are the classical writers, Indian literature, Tamil and Sanskrit, and the Ceylonese chronicle. Of the first group, Strabo wrote in the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius, Pliny published his geography in A.D. 77; the Periplus of the Erythræan Sea was written in the first century A.D. probably A.D. 60 but not later than A.D. 80; Ptolemy wrote his geography about A.D. 150; the Peūtingerian Tables were composed in A.D. 232.

* Silappadhikāram, Canto XV, ll. 207-17.

There were other writers who wrote later but we are not concerned with them directly. I would draw attention to three points, taken from the works of classical writers. Pliny remarks; "At the present day voyages are made to India every year, and companies of archers are carried on board because the Indian seas are infested by pirates". Later on he says. "It (Muziris) is not a desirable place of call, pirates being in the neighbourhood, who occupy a place called Nitrias: and besides it is not well supplied with wares for traffic". This was done before A.D. 77. Ptolemy regarded this port Muziris as an emporium, and places the country of Aioi south of Bakarai. Though Ptolemy does mark the division of the Konkon coast extending northwards of Nitra (Nitrias of Pliny) and up to the port of Mandagara, which is identified with some place not yet definitely accepted, in the southern Mahratta country north of Goa as "Ariake Andron Piraton" meaning "the Ariaka of the pirates" in his time, says no more of pirates at all; meaning there was no piracy at the time to which his work relates, a period not far from him. The Periplus on the contrary does make mention of the piratic character of this coast and gives a straightforward account of its active prevalence at the time in regard to the ports in the neighbourhood. The bearing of this we shall see presently *. The Peutingerian Tables state clearly that two Roman cohorts were maintained in the same town for the protection of Roman commerce.

Mr. Sewell who has made an elaborate study of the Roman coins found in India considers that an examination of the coin finds leads to the following conclusions. †

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* The following account from Marco Polo of this coast is worth noting :—

There go forth every year more than a hundred corsair vessels on cruise. These pirates take with them their wives and children and stay out the whole summer. Their method is to join in fleets of 20 or 30 of these pirate vessels together, and then they form what they call a sea cordon, that is, they drop off till there is an interval of 5 or 6 miles between ship and ship, so that they cover something like a hundred miles of sea, and no merchant ship can escape them. For when any one corsair sights a vessel a signal is made by fire or smoke, and then the whole of them make for this and seize the merchants and plunder them. After they have plundered them they let them go, saying "Go along with you and get more gain, and that may-hap will fall to us also!"

He also notes in respect of the kingdom of Eli the following :—

If any ship enters their estuary and anchors there having been bound for some other port, they seize her and plunder the cargo. For they say, you were bound for somewhere else, and 'tis God has sent you hither to us, so we have a right to all your goods. And they think it is no sin to act thus. And this naughty custom prevails all over the provinces of India, to wit, that if a ship is driven by stress of weather into some other port than that to which it was bound, it was sure to be plundered. But if a ship came bound originally to the place, they receive it with all honour and give it due protection."

† (J. R. A. S. 1904, p. 599.)

1. There was hardly any commerce between Rome and India during the Consulate.

2. With Augustus began an intercourse which enabling the Romans to obtain oriental luxuries during the early days of the empire, culminated about the time of Nero, who died A.D. 68.

3. From this time forward the trade declined till the date of Caracalla, A.D. 217.

4. From the date of Caracalla it almost entirely ceased.

5. It revived again, though slightly, under the Byzantine emperors.

He also infers that the trade under the early emperors was in luxuries, under the later ones in industrial products, and under the Byzantines the commerce was with the south-west coast only, and not with the interior. He differs from those who find an explanation of this fluctuation in the political and social condition of India itself,and the facilities or their absence for navigating the seas, and considers that the cause is to be sought for in the political and social condtion of Rome.

From an examination of the second class of my sources of information alone, we find that there was a period when South India was under great rulers, who gave the country peace and thus provided the indispensable security for commerce. This period can be shown to correspond to that of the Roman empire from Augustus to Caracalla. After this period we find the country in a condition of political flux. So, then, we may still find one at least of the most potent causes of this commercial decline in the internal condition of India itself. Pliny and Ptolemy do not mention the Roman cohorts at Muziris which the *Peutingerian Tables* do. The first exploit of the Red-Chera's father is the destruction of the Kaḍambu tree of the sea.

(1) பல்மொழிந்தோம்பிய இறன்மூக்கடம்பின்
கடியுடைமுழுமுதுமரமீமே II-11, ll. 12-13.

(2) கடம்புமுதறடிந்த கதழ்வினமேம்ப II-12, ll. 1—3.

(3) தானைகுபிரடைமாக்கடனீர்நிகிந்
தடம்பறுத்திய தண்டலையன்னை II-17, ll. 5-6.

From the Padiṟṟuppattu.

Another compliment that the poets never miss an opportunity of bestowing

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Continued from previous page :—

It would be interesting to note as Yule remarks that it was in this neighbourhood that Ibn Batuta fell into the hands of pirates and was stripped to the very drawers. That region continued to be piratical up to the days of Clive and Watson as we know. In the days of Sivaji it continued to be piratical also, as he is said to have replied to an English Embassy protesting against this piracy that "it was against the laws of Cochon,"'to restore any ship or goods that were driven ashore." The central Asian ambhassador Abd-er-Razaak has something to say of pirates near the Calicut coast.

Marco Polo, Yule and Cordier III (3rd Edn.), Chap. XXIV and XXV, pp. 385—392.

upon this Red-Chera himself is that the Chera fleet sailed on the waters of that littoral with a sense of dominion and security.* The Kaḍambu mentioned above is explained as a tree of extraordinary magic powers which could not be cut down by ordinary man. I rather think from the context that it has reference to a piratical rendezvous of the tribe of people who are known as the Kaḍambas. This view seems to be directly countenanced by the extract 3 in the note before the last which says in effect that he crossed the sea, destroyed the Kaḍambu and brought his enemies to subjection.† If this view be correct, the advent of the said Chera brought along with it security. This would be in conformity with Ptolemy's reference to Âay, who was one of the seven chieftains known to literature as "the last seven." From the body of works known to Tamil scholars as the Śangam works their contemporaneity could easily be established from internal evidence alone. I find the name Âay a distinctive name of two individuals, and not quite of a family. This Âay must have been the contemporary of, or a little older than, Ptolemy and the age of Ptolemy would practically be the age of the Red-Chera, and the Chera ascendency. This conclusion only confirms what has been arrived at independently of this class of evidence. The Gajalâhu of Ceylon who visited the Red-Chera almost at the end of his reign, ruled according to the Ceylonese chronicles from A.D. 113 to 135. Even allowing for the difference between the Ceylonese date of the Nirvana of the Buddha ‡ and that arrived at by modern scholars as Dr. Fleet, namely 60 years, that date for Gajabâhu would be A.D. 173 to 193. The Chera ascendency then would cover the middle fifty years of the second century A.D.

The date of the death of the Roman Emperor Caracalla corresponds closely to the disappearance of the Sâtavâhanas of the Dakhan. According to the latest opinion the power of the Kushanas also vanished about the same period. In South India likewise the Pâṇḍya ascendency passes into

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* வெயிருதாவினானைவன்குடகடன்
பொலந்தருகாவாபோட்டியலம்வழி
பிரசுவஞ்செய்தசதிரசேயம், Puṟam 128.
Mârokkattu Nappsalaiyâr on Malayamân Tirumudik-Kâri.

† It would be nothing surprising if the Kaḍambu tree, the country-date or some tree like it had been the tree-totem of this tribe. One tree in particular might have been regarded as peculiarly sacred by the tribe like the famous Oak at Dodono of the ancient Greeks or of the slightly less famous Oak trunk of the Saxons of the days of Charlemagne. Such trees with the Tamils were called guard-trees and cutting them down was an invitation to a war to the death of the Margosa tree of Palayan. The Kadambas are one among four different classes of the agricultural population.

‡ The case for making this allowance does not stand on so good a footing now as it did at one time.

darkness. The century following is one of the dark spots in Indian history, until the rise of the Guptas in the North, of the Chāḷukyas in the Dakhan and of the Pallavas in the South.

The Rise of the Sassanian Power.

This prosperous and flourishing Roman trade with India lasted over a little more than two centuries as we saw, beginning almost from the reign of Augustus and coming to an end practically with the death of Caracalla. In India also the Kushan empire in the north and that of the Āndhras in the Dakhan and the rule of the Tamil kings in the South came to an eclipse almost about the same time, as the rise of Sassanian power in Persia. What may be the exact connection between the rise of the Sassanian power on the one hand and of the extinction of the Indian powers on the other has to be unveiled by future research. It is, however, clear that Roman commerce suffered extinction practically because of the rise of this power which interposed itself along the route of Roman commerce overland and perhaps to a smaller extent obstructed the long oversea commerce. The Persian Gulf route passed effectively under the control of the Sassanids, who seem early to have exerted themselves to capture the trade of the Arabs and whose efforts had succeeded so far in it that they could extend their voyages of commerce across the whole width of the Indian ocean, and venture as far as the Shantung Peninsula in China. While the rise of this power seems to have diminished the maritime enterprise of the Tamils in the Arabian Sea region, if it did not actually extinguish it, it left the Tamil enterprise across the Bay of Bengal unaffected although not altogether alone.

Tamil enterprise across the Bay of Bengal from Tamil sources.

From what has already been said above it is clear that the Tamils of South India had commenced their colonial enterprise across the Bay of Bengal earlier than we know anything of. The familiarity with which Śāvagam and the voyages thereto are spoken of, and the description of the imports into the port of Toṇḍi in the Ramnad district and Kaveripaṭṭaṇam at the mouth of the river Kaveri, which answer detail after detail to what we learn from the Periplus and Ptolemy, warrant the inference that the Tamils had an established system of overseas trade on this side of the coast of the peninsula. Taken as a whole, then, the knowledge we gain of the overseas enterprise of the Tamils, reaches back to times, perhaps centuries, before the age of the classical Tamil literature from which these details are gained. The ship coins of the Āndhras whose provenance, according to Sir Walter Elliot, is the coast region between the Pennars, north and south, the region pre-eminently of a class of people known by the name Tiraiyar goes only to confirm what we learn from Tamil literature. What is more, we hear of a class of merchants described in

Tamil as Mā-Śāttu-vāṇigan (Sans. Mahā Sārtha-Vaṇik) as great sea-going merchants, indicating the existence of a class of people whose profession it was to trade overseas. When actually this communication began we are not in a position to state, but that there was something like a settled communication and regular voyage of commerce cannot be doubted. This prevalence of communication between South India on the one side and the Malaya peninsula and the Islands on the other is confirmed in a very unlooked-for fashion by the recently discovered Koetei inscriptions to which we have already referred. The fact that Brahmans emigrated to the distant east, as far east as the east coast of Borneo, and the character of the emigrant colony make it indubitable that this was an emigration from South India, probably from the region of the early Pallavas.

Among the ruins of the monuments discovered all over this region, both Further India and the islands, the general position seems to be that the earliest monuments have reference to the worship of Vishṇu. According to the recognised authorities Śaivism followed, these two being followed later by Buddhism. This order of succession, not necessarily exclusively so, seems to be the case in regard to Further India as far as exploration work has gone on there. A similar conclusion seems warranted from all that we know of monumental Java, as the position is explained by the explicit statement of Fa-hien in regard to his own Java which must be the same as Ptolemy's Sabadiu, and not the island Java, as we know it at present. This may now be stated with confidence for the following reasons, summarised by Colonel Gerini as a result of an elaborate investigation in his Researches on Ptolemy's Geography*

" As to the name Java being applied to the whole or part of Sumatra we have the evidence (1) of the Kedah Annals (Ch. XIII, Low's Translation in the *Journal of Indian Archipelago*, Vol. III) that Achin or Acheh was called the country of Jawi (Javi), (2) of Ibn Batuta, who records Sumatra in 1345-6 under the name of " Island Jewah (or Java,) " (See Defremerey and Sanguinetti's Edition and Translation, Vol. IV, pp. 228) and (3) the still more decisive and far older testimony of the Pagar-ruyang inscription in the central part of the island (Manang-Kabau district) dating from A.D. 656, where king Aditya-Dharma is called the ruler of the "First (or primeval) Land of Java" (*Prathama Yava Bhū*) meaning, apparently, the first kingdom founded by the Yava or Java race in Sumatra, or still better, in the Archipelago (See Bom. R.A.S., June 1861, Appendix P. XVII). It should, moreover, be noted that the natives of Nias speak of the Malays of Sumatra as Dawa, a term which is evidently a corruption of Java or Dava, especially as the Battak apply to the same people on their borders the slightly different denomination of Jau."

* Pages 462.

This Sāvagam was known to the Tamils as a kingdom ruled over by a king by name Bhūmi-chandra. The name of his queen was Amara Sundari, and both of them brought up a child, an avatar of the Buddha, somewhat miraculously born of a cow. But the geographical detail in connection with this story is that it had for its capital a town called Nāgapuram. (See Maṇimēkhalai, canto XIV). Colonel Gerini in his Researches labours hard to explain what Ptolemy's Argyre*, the capital of his Iabadiu or Sabadiu actually was and identifies it with Achin in Acheh on the N.-W. coast of Java.

If Nāgapuram was the capital of Sāvagam, the capital of Sabadiu must be the equivalent of Nāgapuram. Ptolemy's Argyre does not come any way near it at first sight; but this Nāgapuram passes by the alternative designation Bhogavatīpura, and has yet another possible alternative Uragapura which comes nearest to Argyre. It is well known that Kālidāsa speaks of the capital of the Pāṇḍyas as Uragapura†, meaning thereby that the capital of the Pāṇḍyas was in his time known as Uragapura.

To the Classical Tamils although Madura is by far the most familiar, the term Ālavāy‡ or Hālāsya (abt-Hāla-Hālāsya) was not unfamiliar. If the name of the island Sāvagam was due to Tamil, the capital may well be ascribed to the same source, and if the capital city had been founded under the auspices of Madura, it might well take the name Uragapura giving Ptolemy's equivalent Argyre. Whether Uragapura in its alternative form Bhōgavatīpura is actually responsible for the term Śrī-Bhoja for the later capital of Sumatra is more than we can assert at present. Hence it would be more reasonable from every point of view to regard Sumatra as the "Prathama" Java, the other island Java being so called by the immigrants from this original Java.

Information from I-tsing's Records of the Western world.

As we pass from Fa-hien to the other Chinese traveller to whom we are indebted for a considerable volume of information regarding Java, we find a different state of things from the point of view of religion. This traveller I-tsing left the Shantung peninsula in a Persian ship and came down to Śrī-Bhoja; proceeded from there to Tamra-lipti and travelled therefrom in India learning Sanskrit and collecting manuscripts bearing on Buddhism. After spending a number of years, he returned to Śrī-Bhoja with hundreds of manuscripts. After taking a holiday home, he returned with several collaborators to Śrī Bhoja. He stayed some years there and completed the translation of several of the manuscripts he had collected and sent home 500 volumes of translation. He settled down in Śrī-Bhoja for the obvious reason that he

* Opus. Cit., pp. 656 ff.

† Raghuvamśa, Canto VI Śloka.

‡ One poem in the Ahanānūru is ascribed to an author whose name is given as Pērālavāyar.

commanded the convenience for carrying on his literary labours. The period of his travels cover the last quarter of the seventh century. He then found the kingdom of Śrī-Bhoja which exercised authority not only over its own territory, but also over the islands and principalities across the straits in the Malaya peninsula, so that we might say that the period of expansion of the kingdom of Śrī-Bhoja had already begun. He was hospitably treated and was provided with a state ship by the Mahārāja of Śrī-Bhoja, who apparently also supplied him with all requirements for conducting his literary labours after his return from India. The country was then essentially Buddhist. The change from just the beginnings of Buddhistic influence in the age of Fa-hien, to the dominance of Buddhism during I-tsing's stay in the islands gives us clearly to understand that the intervening centuries, fifth, sixth and seventh centuries, of the Christian era constitute the period of Buddhistic outspread in this region. It may be due to the influence of Buddhistic scholars like Buddha Gosha, who is said to have travelled from Ceylon to Burma on a religious mission. Either he himself, or others like him before and after were responsible for this expansion of Buddhism. This does not seem unlikely as we know that in the sixth century South India contributed at least one principal to the Nālanda University, perhaps the most distinguished, Dharmapāla of Kāñchī. When Hiuen-tsang was in Kāñchī, he had to cancel the project of going to Ceylon, where he wanted to learn certain parts of the Buddhist Vinaya. During his stay in Kāñchī there arrived a number of Buddhist Divines from Ceylon, and they told him that the island was so disturbed by internecine war that it would not be worth his while going there then. When he told them what exactly his mission was, they undertook to instruct him themselves as they were by far the most learned in that particular section of the Buddhist Canon. This disturbed state of the country relates to the middle of the seventh century. Some of the Buddhists from Ceylon might have found asylum in Śrī-Bhoja, and that perhaps was the reason why in I-tsing's days Śrī-Bhoja had become a great Buddhist centre. Whatever the cause, Śrī-Bhoja in which I-tsing stayed was an important centre in which he could carry on his literary labours quite as well as in Nālanda itself, the climate of which was unsuitable to the Chinese scholar. Hence we see that the outspread of religion from South India into the islands of the Archipelago, probably was in the same order chronologically as in the case of Further India, and that is also to be what we discover the order in respect of the archæological monuments in Java. The most remarkable ones such as the Boro-Budur are entirely Buddhist and this Java monument is described by competent authority (such as Prof. Foucher) to belong to the 8th or the 9th Century A.D. In the central province of Java, however, on the heights of the mountains could be discovered ruins of temples dedicated to

Śiva considered to belong to a period not later than the seventh or the eighth century. In the western part of Sumatra island again, Sanskrit inscriptions of a Vaishṇava character have been found, and these are ascribed to the period about A.D. 450 to 600. This according to Colonel Gerini* indicates the order of the religious overflow from Sumatra into Java. This order, from the point of view of India, is essentially a question of wherefrom the emigrants started and to what particular region of South India they belonged. Vaishṇavism and Saivism flourished side by side at the dawn of the Christian era, and they could both of them have gone eastwards at any time since that period. If it should have been that the first colony went from the region of the Pallavas, that is from near the mouth of the Krishna, Vaishṇavism could have been established first. Whatever was the origin of this chronological order there is no question about the order itself. The Koetei inscriptions are evidence of the spread of Vedic Brahmans from South India. The Takopa inscription on a stone found near the mouth of the River Takopa in the Malaya peninsula is again in Pallava characters of the 7th or the early 8th century, and relates to a Vishṇu temple of Nārāyaṇa-Venugopāla on the top of a hill called Nārāyaṇa higher up the river. The actual purport of this inscription is the construction of a tank near the temple and the placing of it under the protection of certain communities of people described as Sēnā-Mukham, Maṇigrāmam and Chāpatār.† The first seems to refer to a military force Sēnā-Mukham being explained as the Royal Guards." ‡ Maṇigrāmam is a well known mercantile community of the west coast and " Chāpattār" the last, if the reading of the first part is quite correct (it is rather doubtful) would mean " body of archers." Maṇigrāmam is certain indication of a colony from the west coast. This origin of the colony would explain the Vaishṇava character of the settlement. So far then we see the influence of South India continued intact; and the period ranging from before the days of Ptolemy right on to the beginning of the 10th century almost, may be regarded as the period of the greatest South Indian influence in this part of Asia.

The advent of Islamic enterprise in the East.

During the period extending from the first quarter of the seventh century onwards, a new influence began to be felt in the rise and expansion of Islam in Arabia. The fall of Persia as a result of the successful war conducted by Khalif Omar introduced a new political element in mid-western Asia which was likely to exercise a considerable influence upon the Indian Ocean

* Opus Cit.

† J. R. A. S. 1904, pp. 397-88.

‡ Silappadikāram XIX. 369 Sēna Mukham is also a division of an army composed of 3 units namely, 3 chariots, 3 elephants, 9 horses and 15 men—Pingalandai, 541.

navigation. We hear of descents of Arab Muhammadan fleets on the coasts of the northern Konkan and the region of Sindh in the reign of Omar himself. But the Persians under the Sassanids seem to have established themselves so well on the Indian Ocean, that even this conquest did not displace Persian nautical enterprise in the eastern arm of the Indian Ocean. Late in the 7th century, the Persians so far maintained themselves as to carry on a regular trade as far east as the Shantung peninsula. That I-tsing travelled in a Persian ship from the Shantung peninsula to Śrī-Bhoja in the island of Sumatra is the clearest possible evidence of it. At the time, the fact that I-tsing performed the rest of his journey to Tamralipti in a ship provided by the Mahārāja of Śrī-Bhoja is equally a clear indication of the rising sea-power of this enterprising state of Sumatra. While therefore the Arab and Persian had to carry on the eastern trade in friendly rivalry, this new element of a native power in Sumatra was somewhat disconcerting to the rivals themselves. It cannot be stated that during this period the Hindus of South India and Bengal and the inhabitants of Ceylon necessarily ceased their maritime activities. The Takopa inscription already adverted to is evidence of some enterprise on the part of the colonists from the region of the Malabar coast, but more than that this was the age of Buddhistic outspread from South India, and all this expansion it would be difficult to assert, took place by means of available foreign shipping. The fact that an invasion set out from the coasts of the Pallava country against Ceylon consisting of a fleet of 300 ships is certain indication that nautical efforts on the Tamil coasts had not come to an end. A Tamil poet could still speak in the 8th century of ships bringing elephants and gold, and lying in harbour at Māhābalipuram (the Seven Pagodas of Anglo-India). There are records of several invasions of the West Coast and of Ceylon by the Cholas; what is more of a greater invasion fitted out and sent against the king of Ramaṇṇa, the ruler of Pegu, by the great Ceylon Buddhistic King Parākramabāhu. The sounder conclusion from the evidence at our command therefore is that these had all traded together in peaceful rivalry during this period.

The expansion of the Kingdom of Sri-Bhoja.

The rise of the kingdom of Śrī-Bhoja and the prominent position that it occupied when I-tsing was on his travels in India, that is, in the latter half of the 7th century A.D. was the beginning of a career of expansion for this kingdom. The number of references that we get to missions sent from this kingdom to China and the early references in the records of Muhammadan Arab travellers indicate clearly that the kingdom of Śrī-Bhoja beginning as a small state was fast advancing to what might be described as a sort of imperial position in the Eastern Seas. Sulaiman (A.D. 851), speaking of Zabej, says

"that the entire region obeys a single king." Both Ibn-Khurda-dbih (A.D. 864) and Abu-Said of the later 9th century have much the same thing to say of the Mahārāja of Zabej. He is said to rule over a large number of islands stretching for a distance of a thousand parasangs (2,400 miles). Among his possessions are counted (1) Sarbaja or Serboza both of them alike standing for Śrī-Bhoja (Modern Palembang), (2) Rami producing camphor, this Rami being the same as Lambri or Lameri including in it Fansur or Barus camphor-forests; and (3) Kalah on the Malay peninsula. According to Ibn-Khurda-dbih, it was ruled over by the Jaba prince of India (ruler of Pegu). But Abu-Said includes it in the territory of the Mahārāja of Śrī-Bhoja. This position given to it in the 9th century is confirmed by later writers—those that obtained their information from previous writers as well as those who wrote from first-hand information of their own. What we learn therefore from Arab writers would justify the inference that in the centuries of Chola ascendency in South India Śrī-Bhoja was the dominant power in the Archipelago. It is apparently of one of these rulers that Renaudot records a somewhat legendary story of invasion of what seems the Pāṇḍya country for the purpose of punishing the contemporary Pāṇḍya ruler for having spoken ill of the great Mahārāja.

Diplomatic and other relations between the Chola Empire and Śrī-Bhoja.

To the Tamilian rulers, however, across the Bay of Bengal, the Mahārājas of Śrī-Bhoja were rulers of Kaḍāram; as such they are brought to our notice in a few records relating to them. In regard to the identification of the rulers of Kaḍāram with the Mahārājas of Śrī-Bhoja the evidence has been discussed elsewhere.*

A ruler of Kaḍāram by name Chūḍāmaṇi Varman applied for permission and obtained a license from the great Chola RājaRāja for the building of a Vihāra in Negapatam, which is called in the record Chūḍāmaṇi Vihāra. About the same time an embassy went from him to China, asked for the blessings of "His Celestial Majesty" for the new Vihāra that he built, and obtained from him approval of the name and "the presentation of bells." The vihāra perhaps was not completed in the time of Chūḍāmaṇi Varma. His son Māra Varma purchased and made over to this vihāra two villages, the record conveying which is known to Epigraphists by the name "the large Leyden Grant."† This is a Chola charter on copper-plates licensing or ratifying this transaction. This relationship apparently continued for about 20 years, when for some reason or other a cause of war had arisen. An expedition was fitted out against this Rāja of Kaḍāram known this time as Sangrāma

* Rājendra, the Gangaigonda Chola in the Sir Asutosh Commemoration volumes: Vol. III, Calcutta University.

† Translated by Dr. Hjrth in J. R. A. S. 1896, pp. 489.

Vijayottunga Varma, probably the son and successor of Māra Vijayottunga Varma. As is explained in the article quoted above, Rājēndra had, as a necessary preliminary, to conquer Orissa as the royal families of Orissa and Śrī-Bhoja appeared to have been related to each other, both of them belonging to Śrī-Sailēndra-Vaṁśa. The war which Rājēndra carried on as far as the banks of the Ganges, and the thorough-going way that he carried it to bring the Kalinga rulers into submission to him were both necessitated for the safety of his own flank. One possible cause of this invasion overseas seems to be that the Tamil States in the east were being absorbed by the ruler of Śrī-Bhoja in the course of his imperial expansion. The several embassies referred to in the record of the Chinese trade Superintendent Chao-Ju-Kua, and the one in particular of date A.D. 1033 from a Lo-cha-Into-Lo-Chulo is from Śrī-Rājēndra Dēva Chola, that is, Rājēndra, the Gangaigonda Chola, had probably the same object in view.* This distant embassy was apparently sent by Rājēndra with a view to putting matters on a permanent footing in respect of his eastern territory across the seas. The last mission we hear of is dated A.D. 1077 from the Chola country belonging to the reign of the great Chola ruler Kulottunga A.D. 1070 to 1118. The Sung history relating to this mission states that Chu-lien (the Chola country) had become tributary to San-fût-Zai (Śrī Vijaya of the time) which seems to be the name that Śrī-Bhoja assumed at that time. The Sung reference cannot therefore be to the Chola country on the peninsula of India. It refers apparently to the Chola possessions on the east coast and the islands of the Bay of Bengal. We do not hear of any relation between the Chola country and the east after this period, and therefore the inference seems safe that the Chola overseas dominance was thenceforward as good as given up. The century following is a century of the decline of the Chola power and a revival of that of the Pāṇḍyas. The great Pāṇḍya king who ruled from A.D. 1268 to 1310-11 had considerable maritime trade both with the west, as far as, at any rate, the Persian Gulf, if not Arabia, and as far east as China. But this vast trade which was the cause of prosperity of the vast Pāṇḍya kingdom seems to have been in the hands of a body of Arab Muhammadans whose head-quarters were in the Persian Gulf in the island of Kis or Kais. Their ruler, known by the title Malik-ul-Islam Jamal-ud-din, had not only the monopoly of the horse trade of the Pāṇḍya kingdom but seemed also to have enjoyed the control of the eastern trade. His first agent Abdur Rahman-ut-Thaibi had his headquarters at Kāyal, the chief port in the south-east of the Pāṇḍya country and had control of the whole coasting trade. It was a cousin of this agent a Jamal-ud-din (Chamalatung) who went

* See also Gerini Opus. Cit., pp. 609, Note 2

on a mission to China on behalf of the great Pāṇḍya king Kulaśēkhara. This transformation, of the trade passing from the hands of the natives of South India into the hands of the Arab agents of the local monarchs, seems to have come about in the course of the decline of the Chola power. The inference then is that the Cholas were the chief maritime power of the Coromandel coast and that their decline meant, the decline of the maritime activity of the Tamils.

Ultimate Arab supersession of Hindu Trade.

The Arab Muhammadans must have for some considerable time settled down along this coast for purposes of trade. We have already stated that there were small settlements of these even in a town like Kaveripaṭṭaṇam. That state of things must have continued and it is probably the passing of the bulk of the eastern trade under their control, and of the Coromandel coast proving the exchange mart between the goods from the west and goods from the east that explains the Arab name Malabar (Landing place) which the Arabs gave to the South Indian coast extending from Quilen to Nellore according to Wassaf. It is just about this time of the rising of the Arab agencies on the Indian coast there were founded a number of settlements of these Arabs along the Ceylon coast as well. It is to this age again that is ascribed the gaining of sufficient influence by the Arabs on the north coast of Java, wherefrom by a few important conversions to Muhammadanism they began to exercise that influence that ultimately led to Java and the islands adjoining adopting the Muhammadan faith. It is this conversion to Muhammadanism of the East Indian Archipelago, that is responsible for the cessation of the Hindu maritime enterprise in the east. It does not appear however to have ceased entirely. The famous charter to oversea traders granted by the Kākatiya king, Gaṇapati, and which is recorded in the pillar at Moṭṭupalli near the mouth of the river Krishṇa seems to have revived a little of the Hindu enterprise in this particular region about the same time that the trade of the Pāṇḍyan coast was passing into the hands of the Arabs. The Telugu poet Śrīnātha in the dedication of his poem Haravilāsam to one Avachi Tippaya Śetty of Nellore says that Tippayya Śetty had the monopoly of supplying all valuable articles to the great Dēvarāya II of Vijayanagar, to the Sultan Muhammad of the Bahmani kingdom and to the Reḍḍi chief, Kumāragiri Reḍḍi of Koṇḍavīḍu. He is said to have imported camphor-plants from the Punjab, gold from Jalanogi, elephants from Ceylon, good horses from Hurimanji (Ormuz), musk from Goa, pearls from Āpaga, musk from Choṭangi and fine silks from China.

Whether we should take it that he got them all through the agency of the Muhammadan overseas merchants may be doubted. There is however the patent fact that, in the two and a half centuries of the ascendency of the

Vijayanagar Empire in Southern India something like 300 ports were open to trade along the coast. There is no reference to any effort on the part of this empire to build up or maintain a navy unless the "Lordship of the Southern Ocean" held by Lakkanna under Dēvarāya II meant naval control of the seas. It is the want of a navy on the part of Vijayanagar and its failure to provide one that opened the way for the enterprise of foreigners, European foreigners in this period in India.

Conclusion.

This somewhat cursory survey of the maritime enterprise of the Hindus of South India makes it clear that the South Indian Hindus exhibited commendable enterprise oversea, and carried their civilization and religion across the Bay of Bengal to the East Indian Achipelago in the centuries, perhaps anterior to the Christian era. With the dawn of the Christian era, this enterprise takes form and shape and we begin to see therefore communities of South Indian inhabitants along the eastern shores of the Bay of Bengal. These communities began to grow and flourish to such an extent that they cease to be merely temporary trade settlements, but permanent colonies of the Hindus, necessitating even a considerable amount of Brahman emigration as essential to the life of the Hindu community as a whole. The whole turn that was given to the civilization of the East Indian archipelago is in the form that religious and cultural development exhibited in South India. Vaishnavism and Saivism or subsequently southern or Hinayanist Buddhism spread over from South India and Ceylon to the east and gave rise to those magnificent monuments, some of which even excel those of the mother country. The character of these monuments as far as they could be studied from their ruinous condition and the few inscriptions that have been discovered indicate unmistakably that the inspiration came from South India. The culture was South Indian undoubtedly. The cause of prosperity of these might be regarded as due to South India as it is South Indian enterprise that built up the trade of the Archipelago and the Malay Peninsula with which it maintained a continuous trade in commodities of rare value, and gained from her the practical monopoly for several of them. In the development of a commerce from out of this exuberance of nature, South Indian Hindus played a prominent part. At one time, it looked as though it had succeeded in establishing a Greater India, but the want of sustained enterprise combined with efficient rivalries stopped them short in this enterprise, as soon as it was well on the way to its full development. This failure proved a vital defect in the imperial career of Vijayanagar and made a permanent Hindu Empire even in South India impossible.

MALNAD CHIEFS.

(Extract from Chronicles compiled about 1820 A.D.)

Translated by R. SHAMA SHASTRY, ESQ., B.A., M.R.A.S.

History of Sagar.

IKKERI Sagara was once a forest and belonged to the Kadambas whose capital was Chandragutti. Then it came under the Ballalas. Then this country was divided into Kundanadu and Tadanadu and was ruled over by Palyagar Bommarasa and his family, as feudal chiefs of the Ballalas. Viraballala ruled in 1140 (Saka=1218 A.D.). Then Balenavangadiyar constructed Kali Someswara temple. Hence this place came to be known as Keladi samsthanam. There are a number of stones containing inscriptions of Ballalaraya. Copies of those inscriptions have been taken (by me, author of the Chronicle). After the Ballalas, the Narapatis of Anegundi, belonging to the family of Harihara, took this country under their power. They ruled over it for sometime in the beginning and then let it over on hire-system. There was at the time in Hallibayalu near Keladi one Basappa as a gauda of that place. He had two brothers called Chavudagauda and Bhadragauda. To graze their cows these men employed under them two Parayas called Vadaya and Murari. One of his cows was one day found to be milking over an ant-hill. On being informed of this, the two brothers removed the ant-hill and found under it a Linga. Then Chavudagauda worshipped it and set it up in a temple. A few days after a cobra spread its hood over his head when he was asleep under a tree and went on its way without biting him. An astrologer also told him that he would be a king. He made the astrologer a Sanubhoga or collector of taxes in his village. At the same time a box containing treasure-trove was unearthed by Murari while ploughing Chavuda's fields. In memory of Murari, Chavuda called the fort which he built there (Edava Murari kōtē), the fort of tumbling Murari. Meanwhile Sadasiva and Achyuta were ruling over Vijayanagar. Under their command Chavuda sent Bhadra to Sadasivaraya in saka 1467, Visvavasu. Sadasivaraya heard what Bhadra had to say of his property and giving him the name of Sadasiva Nayaka empowered him to be the Viceroy of Sagar and the neighbouring country and commanded him to put down all the Palyagars molesting that part of the country at that time.

After his return Sadasivanayak raised an army and invading the adjoining country put down one after another the following Palyagars :—(1) Ikkeri Mallanagauda, (2) Nellura Puttegauda, (3) Nurguppe Puttegauda, (4) Malati

Puttegauda, (5) Vriddhi Muppina Gauda, (6) Manchala Puttegauda, and (7) Yelagalli Puttegauda. Likewise he also reduced some minor Palyagars, such as the Palyagar of (1) Sirvanti, (2) Viranna of Angadi, (3) Puttanna of Kanale, and (4) Putte Gauda of Valura. Thereafter he consolidated the whole territory as Keladi and began to rule over it in Saka 1483, Durmati, Sam.

Once on this occasion Chavuda's Gurukar was chasing a hare. It attacked the hound and bit it. On learning this, he considered it as a land of heroes and erected a fort there and called it Ikkeri. Then consulting his Samajikas, he constructed a bazaar street to the town in the midst of the villages of Ikkeri, Siravanti, Yelagalli, and Keladi. Then in order to make the bazaar populous, he reduced Nilakantaraya of Keladi and transferred the merchants of Keladi to occupy the bazaar street under the stipulation :—The king of this place will have no right to punish even such offences as murder of father, mother, cheating, etc., committed by them or levy fines, taxes, or tolls upon them or compel from them free labour for thirty years. Under this agreement a number of merchants, such as Dhulappa, Nagappa, Santaya and others came and set up their trade in the bazaar street. Chavuda provided them also with necessary capital to start with. Then he called it Sadasivasagara. He built also on the bank of the Varada river an Agrahar called Visvanathapura with 60 houses for Brahmans, with three temples of Rameswara, Amritalingesvara, and Mallikarjuna and gave it as a grant to Brahmans with sixty land-grants.

The details of Sadasivasagara bazaar are as follows:—

The streets were square ands traight constructed on level and parallel threads. In the east the palace was built with a first floor with a temple of Sakti Ganapathi and a tank near. For conducting worship in the temple, he endowed it with a garden of 62 cocoaunt trees and 4—4—0 varahas per annum contributed from the palace. He also set up a bull in the street stretching east to west in front of the palace. Then he constructed 16 divisions: the division of Banajigar, with a Talawara Katte or Police Station. Nilakantaraya built this station using his own palace materials. The other divisions were (1) the divisions of Brahmans, (2) of Potters, (3) of Copper and Bronze Smiths, (4) of Merchants, (5) of Gardeners, (6) of Cowherds, (7) of Weavers, (8) of Shepherds, (9) of Washermen, (10) of Spinners, (11) of Wrestlers, (12) of Vegetable dealers, (13) of Konkanas, (14) of Gavuzas, and (15) of Prostitutes.

In the same city there was a Lingayet Math built by Hovina Hampayya who was a merchant dealing in merchandise of different sorts brought by bullocks one thousand in number for each sort per-year. This Math was called the Math of Mahant. The endowments of the Math were (1) Nandigrama, (2) Kamblikoppa, (3) Halasina Kottadagrama, (4) Kallukoppa, (5) Hottala

Suragrama, (6) Sogemanegrama yielding one thousand varahas per annum. This Math flourished till the day of Hyder when he reduced its income to 30 varahas.

Another Math called Virakta was built by Mariappa Chetti; with an endowment of one village granted by the Ursus. Later Chennammaji built another Math and endowed it with 36 varahas.

In the Math "food for the hungry, butter for the baby, fodder for cows" constituted a proverbial charity of Keladi Appajayya.

This Sadasiva Nayak ruled from Saka 1467 (Visvavasu) to Saka 1483 (Durmati), total number of years=16. Then followed his son Hire Sankanna 1483 to 1494 (Angirasa), total number of years 11. This Urs found a strange sword in the house of Murari, his father's Paria slave. The sword was called the child of Cobra (Nagaramari). The sword was kept together with a dried piece of flesh. When any crow approached to carry off the flesh, the sword was said to have chased the crow and driven it away. Sankanna took the sword by giving a handsome present to the owner. With this sword Sankanna conquered a number of enemies and went on pilgrimage to Hardwar where he was anointed as king emperor with sixteen swords. After returning to Ikkeri he erected a temple and set up Aghoravirabhadresvar and endowed the temple with lands yielding 1000 varahas per annum for conducting special festivities in the temple.

After Sankanna, his son, Rajanayaka, reigned from 1494 Angirasa to 1504 Chitrabhanu (for ten years).

He was followed by his son Vira Vodier from 1504 Vaisakha to the Kartika of the same year (only 7 months). Then after his demise, his uncle Hire Venkatappa Nayaka began to rule. During the reign of this Nayak, the crown piece of the turret of Aghora Virabhadra temple was carried off (by wind) and dropped into Gangekere. This was considered inauspicious by all at the time. To tide over the calamity Venkatappa built other temples and set Akhilandesvari. He also expanded the town of Sagar and built Bidaruru (Bednore) on the other side of the river. His son Virabhadra surpassed his ancestors in bravery and expanded his kingdom by conquering Bhairavavodier of Garasoppa. Bhairava was a Jaina king. After slaying him, Virabhadra carried off his wife Channammaji and added Garasoppa to his own territory. Venkatappa ruled from 1504 to 1551. His son Bhadrappa died before him. During his reign the Moghals under Ranadullakhan seized Ikkeri and set up a viceroy there. Then Virabhadrappa Nayaka ascended the Gadi and retiring to Bidarur ruled over his country more peacefully than before. His rule lasted for 15 years from 1551 to 1566. During his reign the rule of Vokkaligas came to an end and was replaced

by the rule of Banajigas. Sivappanayaka, grandson of Chikkasankanna Nayaka, was the head of administration as Yuvaraja under Virabhadra Nayaka. He completed the construction of the temple of Aghoresvara and set up another crown on the turret of the temple. Meanwhile Ranadullakhan returned to Bijapur when Sivappa reconquered his territory on the other side of the river.

Sivappanayaka is still famous as a systematiser in the valuation of land revenue. His valuation is called Sivappanayakanasistu or the rule of Sivappanayaka. Taking a piece of land measuring 18 footsteps from east to west and north to south enclosed between four pillars set up at its four corners, as a unit for one Arecanut tree in gardens, he assessed garden land in terms of trees, valuing each tree at a fixed rate of revenue payable to the Government. He also measured wet lands in terms of the quantity of the seeds sown yielding produce in proportion to the quantity of seeds required. He divided the land into four sorts according to its productivity depending upon its fertility. This valuation of lands for purposes of revenue was all in terms of money, *i.e.*, Ikkeri Varaha equal to about Rs. 5. So instead of demanding and collecting revenue in kind, he raised taxes in coin. This policy put an end to all kinds of boundary disputes among the agricultural people.

He extended the city of Bidarur and built beautiful palaces in it. His conquest was more extensive than that of his predecessors. Slaying Vonte Vodier of Bilagi, he added Bilagi to Ikkeri. Likewise he subjugated Ammaji, the queen of Sodi, the Jaina king of Chandragutti, and added those places to the dominion of Ikkeri. He took the country of Savanuru and let it to Havanu for a fixed quantity of revenue in the form of milk and butter. Driving out the Mahamadans from Honnali, he added it also to Ikkeri. Reducing the Arasus of Belagutti, he made that also a part of his own dominion. He slew Tereguppa Nayaka of Tarikere and added it also to his own State. Below the Ghats, he carried his conquest as far as Chandragiri. Thus he owned a vast territory yielding nine lakhs below the Ghats and nine lakhs of varahas above the Ghats, making his total revenue 18 lakhs of varahas. In Mysore also he seized Arkalgud, Belur, Vastare, Hebbe and Jagara. He levied house taxes in Sagar and gave the right of collecting it to Badami Lingappa Chetty. For this service he granted him an Umbali land yielding 60 varahas with a garden and another piece of land requiring 15 bullocks for ploughing. He divided arecanut gardens into four sorts for revenue settlement, and made also sandalwood plantations, of four kinds. He died in Sarvari of Saka 1566, after ruling over the country for fifteen years and nine months.

Venkatappa Nayaka succeeded him and ruled only for 11 months. Then Bhadrappa Nayaka, son of Sivappa, ruled for 2 years and was followed by Mad

Somasekhara Nayaka, his brother. During this reign Krishnappayya of Subanisi replaced the wooden Ganapati temple in Sagar by a stone structure and made endowments for the celebration of a car festival. Huchchu (mad) Somasekhara was at last murdered by his Samajiks or Councillors. His wife assumed the reins of government. She had no issue. After consulting Mariyappa Chetty, Bommarasayya of Kalamma, and Timmanayaka, who were her Councillors, she adopted one of the sons of Mariyappa. This nameless man ruled under her direction for 7 years and 10 months. Meanwhile some mischievous people complained against her to the Bijapur Durbar. Ajimut Khan led an army and laid siege to Bidarur and restored it for a sum of 30 lakhs of varahas.

Ale Sivalingappa Nayaka succeeded him and ruled only for 8 months under her. He was known as Sivappa Nayaka II.

Then Chennammaji in consultation with Mariyappa Chetty and other councillors and her army adopted Budi Basappa Nayaka, son of Mariyappa Chetty. But the people of Nagara with the help of some Mahamadans from Bijapur rebelled against her. Chennammaji took shelter under the fort of Kapiledurga and permitted her army to plunder the country except the palace on the condition of their putting down the rebels. She also guarded all the roads to her territory so that no commercial articles would enter into or pass out from her territory. The rebels were thus starved and were obliged to come to terms with her. Asamanta, the leader of the rebels, was bribed with three lakhs of varahas and was made to retire with his army. To replenish the depleted treasury, she enhanced the tax at the rate of 1¼ Chavula per varaha. She also sent Dodda Guruvappa on an expedition to Sante Bannur which he took after slaying Ramanna Nayaka, the Palyagar chief of that place. Thus she ruled for 17 years, 5 months, and 15 days from 1619—1636.

Budibasappa was succeeded by his eldest son Somasekhara. His uncle, Nirvanayya by name, built a Math in Sringeri. There arose a dispute between the Sringeri Math and this Lingayet Math. The authorities of Sringeri Math sent a Srimukha to Baji Rao of Poona for help. Baji Rao went thither with his army and made Nirvanayya a captive in Sringeri. Somasekhara agreed to remove the new Math and pay three lakhs of Varahas to the Sringeri Math in order to get his uncle released. The authorities of Sringeri Math sent Baji Rao with due honours and levelled the Lingayet Math, removing even the traces of its foundation. Somasekhara found money for his treasury by increasing the taxes at 1¼ Chavula per varaha, and built for his use a palanquin inlaid with precious stones. Bavich Khan, father of Nijamallikhan of Bijapur, heard of this and led an army as far as Banavasi when Somasekhara made an agreement with him, paying off five lakhs of varahas and

concealed the palanquin. He went to Coorg through Subrahmanya and made friendship with Virarajayya, Chief of Coorg. After returning to Shimoga he went to the Mandle Math and closed the door of the goddess Chaudi of the Math with a wall, when he fell ill and breathed his last. Thus his reign lasted for 24 years, 4 months, and 4 days, from 1636 to 1661. At this time there occurred a great famine called Dogibara.

Budibasappa, his brother, succeeded him. During his reign Nana Rao of Poona invaded Ikkeri territory and Basappa purchased his friendship paying 5½ lakhs. Channappayya was his financial adviser (Karanika). In consultation with him he enhanced taxes by one honnu per varaha and levied kanike at the rate of ten panas (Honnu) per varaha on all Devadaya, Brahmadaya, Bhattara Vritti, and Agrahara lands. Three lakhs of people at once protested against his order. Basappa was obliged to yield and accordingly he reduced the enhancement to one Hana per varaha on all Manya lands uniformly and at 1¼ Chavula on all taxed lands. Then the Mahrattas came again and in order to find money to get rid of this trouble, he enhanced this tax again at 2½ Hanas per varaha. Again in the year Bhava, Madoje Purander of Poona invaded and captured Jade and Ikkeri. Basappa had to pay him 12 lakhs to recover the cities. Then for 15 years and 4½ months from 1661 to 1676 he ruled peacefully and was succeeded by Virammaji, his wife. She had no issue and therefore adopted her uncle's son and called him Somasekhara Nayaka. He was very reckless and a profligate. She ordered him to be beheaded. The Samajikas, however, kept him under concealment. She gave extensive lands to the Sringeri Math. The people however found her guilty of unchastity and surrendered themselves to Hyder Ali who seized the territory after imprisoning her in the Madgiri fort. Thus the Palyagar rule of Keladi came to an end.

Commerce.

The cities that were in trading relation with Sagar were 15 ; namely (1) Valajapet, (2) Kambadapet, (3) Kandamulupet, (4) Tadipatre, (5) Kadapa, (6 Kadarabadu, (7) Kandanuru, (8) Nagarageri, (9) Molakalmuru, (10) Rayadurga, (11) Vuravakonde, (12) Banagalahalli, (13) Kajepet, (14) Jaramel and (15) Bellary. The chief articles were (1) Arecanut, (2) Pepper, (3) Lavangamoggu (spice), (4) Daluchinni, (5) Rice, (6) Ragi, (7) Sandalwood oil.

The rate of price was as follows :—

80	Varahas weight ...	...	1 Seer.
15	Seers	...	1 Dhadiya.
4	Dhadiyas ...	...	1 Mana.
14	Manas	...	1 Nija.

(1) The price of one Nija of Arecanut was=9 Varahas.
The toll on this as far as Sikaripur was=4 do.
At Sikaripur it was=13 varahas.
At this price Arecanut was being exported.

(2) Twelve manas of pepper sold at 12 varahas.
Toll on this was 4 do.

(3) Lavanga, etc. :—12 manas of this sold at $4\frac{1}{2}$ Varahas.
Toll on this ... ... $\frac{1}{2}$ do.

(4) Sandalwood oil sold at 5 varahas per seer=80 varahas weight.
Rice and ragi were being exported towards Sirala and Koppa, Sandal oil to Kodiala and Bhatkal.

Pepper to Havery and Bellary and Hubli in the North and Honnavar and Bhatkal in the West.

Cardamoms were not grown here in plenty and so there was no trade in it here.

Sandalwood was the monopoly of the Government.

The Arasus of Garasoppa.

Mahamandalesvara, Salva Krishna Deva was one of the rulers of Garasoppa. His country seems to have extended as far as Bhatkal and Gokarna in the West. The other three boundaries of his territory are not specified in this Chronicle. He is said to have given the village of Lottavalli and the fields near it to one Narasakini, son of Satakini, to enable him to conduct the worship of Lakshmi Narasimha, set up by him in a temple erected in Bhatkal, in Saumya, Ashadha Bahula, 5, Monday, of Saka 1472=1550 A.D.

The same Narasikini purchased from Narasimha Pandit the Math of Brahmanandabharati near the fort of Gokarna and converted it into a palace for his own use.

After the demise of Krishnadeva, his queen Bhairadevi conducted the administration. Narasakini also died. Bhairadevi was succeeded by Bhairadevi II, her sister, when Timmarasakini, son of Narasak'ni was in the enjoyment of the Math and the village Lottavalli. After the death of Bhairadevi II, Chikkachanna Bhairavadevi was looking after Garasoppa ; when one oil-monger Chauda Chetty by name, called also Linganna, came to Garasoppa to carry on his trade there in cloth and sadies. Bhairavadevi purchased some of his articles and taking a fancy for this youth, kept him in her palace. He took his wife also there from Bankapur. He also married the two daughters of the Arsus of Honne Kumli and Kumte. Thus he lived with four wives in Garasoppa.

Gokarna was a place of pilgrimage and a huge multitude went thither from all places in the neighbourhood on the occasion of Sivaratri festival.

When Linganna was the Palyagar of Garasoppa, Lingayets from Sri Saila went to Gokarna with their Nandikolu, a long pole with a bull flag, together with Vyasa's Arm. The traditional story of Vyasa's Arm is that once upon a time Vyasa, a sage, proclaimed the greatness of Vishnu with his arm raised up in Benares, and could not bend his arm till he acknowledged and proclaimed equal greatness to Siva. This is what the Vyasa's Arm carried on by the Lingayats signifies. The Lingayats wanted to go round the temple with their Nandi pole and Vyasa's Arm. But the Paramahamsa, a Brahman ascetic in charge of the temple obstructed them. They appealed to Linganna Nayaka of Garasoppa, and with an army sent by him, they slew the Paramahamsa and went round the temple. A few days after Bhairadevi with Linganna came to Gokarna where the temple was closed on account of the terrible murder of the ascetic. Bhairadevi repented for it and sent one, Jatigara Basavayya by name, to Venkatappa Nayaka of Keladi, complaining against Linganna and his murder. Venkatappa led an army to Siravi where Linganna with his wives was hiding. Linganna beheaded his three wives and committed suicide himself. Venkatappa took Bhairadevi to Ikkeri after installing Lakshmidevi in Garasoppa. Who this woman was, is not mentioned in the Chronicle.

The Chronicle narrates the precise boundaries of the village granted by Salva Krishnadeva to Narasakini in Bhatkal and Gokarna and specifies the various prevailing taxes from which the grant was declared to be free. The taxes are :—(1) Vosage, (2) Asantaya, (3) Akara, (4) Anyayakanike, (5) Bataya, (6) Bitti, (7) Bidara, (8) Asi, (9) Appane, (10) Varâja, (11) Sarada, (12) Betige, (13) Upachara.

The Chronicle mentions that Krishnadevarasa was ruling over Nagar, Tulu, Konkana, Gova, etc., in Sadharana of Saka 1473 and narrates another grant made by Devarasa Vodier of the same family to Narasakini.

Garasoppa is said to have been the capital of Salva Arasus having a number of towns and villages attached to it. Gokarna, Goa, Sivesvara, Keravadi and other villages are said to have been under the rule of the Salvas. When installing Lakshmidevi in Garasoppa to carry on the administration with the advice of Kemparajavodier and others, Venkatappa Nayaka of Keladi took away Bhairadevi to Keladi. Mallik Kaffer under the orders of Ibrahim Adil Shah of Bijapur proceeded to Goa and purchasing a large supply of guns and gunpowder from the Portuguese in Goa, he attended himself with a number of Palyagars, such as Samasi Ramanayaka, Kadire Malloj Nayaka and others in view of conquering Garasoppa and its villages for Bijanur. On hearing this news, Lakshmidevi of Garasoppa issued orders to repair the fort of Keravadi and make it invincible. When the repair of the fort was going on, the Thanedar of Sivesvar reported the matter to Mallik Kaffer.

With a huge army he laid siege to the fort of Keravadi, which did not however yield for six months. In the year Krodi, however, it surrendered and Mallik razed it to the ground and kept a regiment of soldiers in a new fort called Hosakote constructed by him in the tract of land called Hosa Keri. Near Gokarna he kept another regiment of two hundred men. A military station near Hiri Gutti, another near Hagebaragi, one near Dodbale, a fourth in Kudure Halla, a fifth in Kodakini, and a sixth station near the river Kari. In Sidivare, a fort constructed by one Patangaraya he stationed 250 men. He also set up communication from place to place in the above area. Then passing on to a fort near the streamlet called Mekar Kari, he set fire to the fort of Mahabalapura and destroyed not merely the underground granaries of ragi and paddy, but also the Darbar building with a number of men in the fort. Next he passed to Chandavar and laid siege to a fort there, when the people of Honnavar sent him some guns and men, requesting his help for themselves against Venkatappa of Keladi. At the same time they got a supply of men and big and small guns from Keladi and stationed them all in the valleys and hills not far from Honnavar. When relying upon the word of the Honnavar people Mallik came there, he was surrounded in Asineravu. Then ensued a hand to hand fight between the prepared army of Keladi and the unprepared army of Mallik Kaffer. Luckily with one or two fugitives Mallik escaped and reaching the fort of Midje he resolved that his army should not go to the other bank of the Kari river and requested the people of that fort for help. The people of Midje, Kodavani, and Chatrakuru assembled together and considered whether Mallik Kaffer's business was to sow the seeds of dissension among them and conquer them one after another and whether it would be proper for them to receive him with help. Then they consulted also Ramachandranayaka of Sode. They all however came to the conclusion that it would be better to send some representatives to Mallik and ascertain his purpose. Accordingly Rangappa, the Village Accountant, of Gokarna, Devarasa Nayaka of the interior Nadu, and Hosabani Gauda of Chatrakuru with some Gurukars went to the camp of Mallik and were told by him as follows :—

" Gentlemen, you are the pillars of the Karnataka country. When Venkatappa Nayaka of Keladi took Bhairadevi of Garasoppa captive and placed some one else in her place as the head of your Karnataka country, should you be indifferent to it ? The Dewan Sahib of Bijapur is on your side. Hearing the news of the fate of Garasoppa, the Dewan sent me to you with orders to set right matters here. I have already destroyod the old fort (viz., Mahabalapura) and have selected a good site to erect a new fort. If you all come and inspect the place, we may all proceed with the construction quickly."

They all consented to this proposal, and distribution of *pan supari* and

fruits among the people assembled was made on a large scale. Then early in the year of Plavanga, the foundation of Bale Kille was laid, and pieces of dry cocoanut, together with sugar and fried Bengal gram were distributed among the spectators. Meanwhile Gaja Bhara Gauda Uppari Kesara Nayaka arrived thither from Bijapur. He was presented by Mallik with a horse and an umbrella with a gilded top-piece. The construction went on rapidly. The Christians of Konkere were the builders. About 575 Hindus and Musalmans worked together day and night. The total cost of construction amounted to about 9000 varahas. The fort thus constructed consisted of four big doors, one street, five palatial buildings, two Mosques, and fourteen Bale Killas, etc.

Meanwhile the people of Midje claimed that the right of cultivating the land in the midst of the river Gajani belonged to themselves. Accordingly they did not allow the inhabitants of the other side of the river to cross the river and grow crops in the island. If with a basket of seeds on their head and plough on their shoulder they crossed the river and sowed their seeds in the island, the people of Midje used to take possession of the crops. The people of the other bank complained to Venkatappa of Keladi against the claim of the people of Midje. He issued orders permitting the people of Midje to take half of the produce grown by the people of the other side of the river after deducting the quantity of seeds from the total produce. Thus Midje seems to have been under the jurisdiction of Venkatappa till the Mahamadans of Bijapur occupied it. After the return of Mallik Kaffer from the scene, the people of Midje seem to have suffered a good deal at the hands of both Hindu and Mahammadan Nayaks. The Chronicle mentions eleven chief Hindu Nayaks, eight chief Musalman Nayaks, eight minor Nayaks and twenty Lashkaris with 453 soldiers, all amounting to 500 men in charge of the fort of Midje and other forts near it costing about 4 varahas per soldier. These Nayaks are said to have tyrannised over the people by levying a number of taxes (Atikrama balu). The Chronicle narrates the sad tale of the flight of people in numbers from the country, of no revenue, and of no salary to soldiers even. The government used to collect taxes three times a year; but now when the people left the country, it could even raise taxes not twice or once a year. Those that remained behind had neither food nor even rags to cover their body. They petitioned to the Havaldars of Mamale but to no purpose. The Nayaks in charge of the fort, however, gave them two Khandis of harka. All the paddy produce went to enrich the granaries of the Nayaks.

Then the people rebelled against the Nayaks and the fight between them continued for six months, when at the outbreak of an epidemic in the fort an agreement was entered into by the people with the

Nayaks. Accordingly the besieged Nayaks were let out from the fort. The Nayaks however stationed Manika Babaji, a Lashkari at the gate of the fort to guard it. When the Nayaks went out Itigara Sivanna, a virtuous brave leader of the people, murdered the guard and broke open the gates when another fight between the people and the Nayaks began more furiously than before and continued for a month. The Nayaks captured the children of the people and sold them off. Some minor Nayaks, however, were disgusted with this suicidal warfare and having got hold of a few big Hindu and Musalman Nayaks, carried them off to Mamale and imprisoned them there. Then those Nayaks who were left behind surrendered themselves to the minor Nayaks who took the people's side. Order and peace were restored. Old revenue accounts were struck off. New accounts on a scale satisfactory to the people were opened. Meanwhile the Bijapur Darbar deputed the son-in-law of Mallik Kaffer to restore order in the country. He appointed new Nayaks and called the people to report their grievances to him without any fear. The Sudra women of Chatrakuru and Kodakini produced before him their cooking pots in which they prepared their broths and curry and prostrating themselves with their hands closed and uplifted said as follows:—

'Sir, those who are appointed to rule over us compel us to work for them free (bitti and begari) and demand from us regular supply of milk, curds, and vegetables twice every day. On our failing to supply this they threaten to kill us. Hence we wanted to leave the country for good, but were stopped from doing so with the assurance that you would come here to hear of our grievances and redress them."

Then Jamedar Peripani Saniki tasted the broth and said that the lot of those people was to eat such insipid ragi water in spite of the rich harvest of crops which they turned out year after year, and that they produced gold for the Sarkar and rubbish for themselves. Then the daily supply of milk, curds, and vegetables to the Nayaks in the fort was at once put a stop to. Mallik's son-in-law threatened them with dismissal and other serious punishments in case of their violating his orders. He said that, if they exacted more than 150 varahas for their contingent expenses (Sadilwar), they would be seriously dealt with. He called for their accounts. Both the Hindu and Mahamadan Nayaks produced their revenue accounts; and there was a dispute as to whose accounts should be first scrutinised. The Hindus said that their accounts should be first examined, while the Mahammadans claimed that right for themselves. A compromise was however made and the accounts of a third party were first examined. It was the accounts of Mahamad Ashfar Nayak. He was given *pan supari* after the examination and was discharged. Then the accounts of both the Hindus and Musalmans were examined together. After the examination

was over, one Balha Pandit was appointed to be incharge of the accounts of Midje fort and its Navapat, *i.e.*, the musical band performing morning, midday and evening. The old Nayaks were found guilty and were therefore dismissed. One Sira Sundara Vajir was appointed to be in charge of the Midje fort, and Savanta Nayaka was sent to Mamale. Among the old Nayaks, Babaji Farid, Mahamad Ashrof, Avi Nayak and others appealed to the Darbar at Bijapur. On their promise to pay the revenue regularly, old Tumuru Khan Vajir was again appointed to the Maha of Midje, to the satisfaction of Farid, Ashrof and other Nayaks. Meanwhile Hasain Nayak died and his son, Avi Nayak was married to the daughter of Chadami, sister of Ashrof Nayak. Mokadum, brother of Ashrof, died. With the suspicion that Avi Nayak might have poisoned Mokadum, Ashrof Nayak murdered Avi Nayak in a duel before the fort gate. His son, Bab Nayak, succeeded him as a Nayak. He was the son-in-law of Babaji Farid Nayak. There was some misunderstanding between Ashrof and Farid about revenue accounts. Hence Ashrof was afraid of him, and his son-in-law having turned out a new enemy to him, Ashrof became all the more anxious about his own personal safety. Accordingly he left the country and went to a forest near Apur. A rumour spread abroad that he was conspiring against Farid and others. Farid and others hastened to the forest and persuaded Ashrof to return to Midje with the assurance that he would be married and that all the Nayaks would be responsible for his personal safety. On his return, he was married to the daughter of Mir Humja Bheg and all appeared to be happy for some time.

Meanwhile Yekhalas Khan was in charge of Ankole fort and Siddiparasat was a Thanedar there. The latter became a convert to Khaji Mahamadanism. With the help of Desayi Senubov (a tax-gatherer), he began to forge the accounts and misappropriate the revenue of Ankole. But Sankaraji Raghupati Pandit who was the Nayak of Ankole refused to give him any money. Then he went to Midje and conspiring with Babaji Farid, Ashrof and other Nayaks attempted to remove Raghupati Nayak from Ankole. Accordingly they laid siege to Ankole fort. Raghupati feigned head-ache and requested Ashrof and others to permit him to leave for Midje to procure medicine. He was gladly permitted to leave Ankole. Soon after his departure, Babaji Farid, Ashrof, and other Nayaks entered into the fort, closed the door, and took possession not only of the treasury, but also of the entire property of Raghupati Nayak. They also made some report of this to Bijapur through Yekhalas Khan and succeeded in getting an order from the Darbar appointing Ashrof in the place of Raghupati. Ashrof received also some presents from the Darbar. He became very powerful. He ruled as a Sava Nayaka of all the forts, for sixteen years. Then he put to death not less than fifteen Nayaks, imprisoned

a number of persons, sold off the children of the poor, and compelled a number of young girls to become actresses in the theatre (Natyasale). He also entered into a secret agreement with Sivappa Nayaka of Bidanuru (1645--1660 A.D.) and became himself an independent Palegar. After his death his son, Mogadum Nayak, succeeded him. Mogadum was the son-in-law of Sogada Malli Khan. Murtij Beg also was the son-in-law of Malli Khan, having married his eldest daughter. These two sons-in-law were at loggerheads. So Murtij Beg became the Chief Nayak of Midje and other forts for 13 years. After his demise, Muhammad Khan Rustum ruled over the same country for three years. He was succeeded by a number of Muhammadans one after another.

At this time a European military officer seems to have come to Midje at the invitation of the Bijapur Durbar to inspect the forts. His name is not correctly spelt in the Chronicle. It however reads "Mulamkhurum". It may be the name of a Portuguese military officer from Goa. He is said to have come to Midje and to have returned to Europe through the port of Sivesvara, after making a report on the condition of the forts with necessary instructions. Then came Derves Muhammad and Mir Asilam and others from Bijapur to redress the grievances of the people and restore order. When Murtij Khan was in charge of the forts and had the assistance of Nagoji Pandit, one Hanuma at the head of a number of rebels captured and imprisoned them and attempted to restore the forts to the Karnataka Durbar (*i.e.*, Keladi). There ensued a war between the Muhammadans and the Hindus and lasted for 7 months. Kasaragodi Timmanna and Narana Malla supplied the Hindus with reinforcements. In the year Paridhavi (1663 A.D.) Raghuchandra Konkana Sanyasi came with an army and captured the forts.

(To be continued.)

BHASA'S PRATIMANATAKAM.

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(*Continued from Vol. XI, p. 366.*)

ACT II.

(Then enter a Chamberlain).

Chamberlain—List ye all portresses on duty! Be vigilant all at your posts. (1).

(Entering)

Portress—Sir, what is this?

Chamberlain—Our Gracious Majesty, anxious to keep his word, found it impossible to keep Rama from going to the forest; and with his heart consumed by the fire of sorrow due to his son's separation he bewailed for long, like a mad man, and is now lying in the Samudragṛha. (2).

And the King, with his body and mind quite crushed by sorrow, appears like the Mount Meru shaking at the approach of the end of a Yuga, like the vast unfathomable ocean shrivelled up, and like the sun falling down with his disc alone visible. (3).

Portress—Alas! His Majesty come to such a state? (4).

Chamberlain—Madame, go.

Portress—Sire, so be it. (Exit).

Chamberlain—(looking around) Alas, indeed, since the day of Rama's departure, this Ayodhya seems to be deserted. For,

The lordly elephants, devoid of all desire for barley, have their eyes dimmed with tears; the horses do no more neigh; the aged, the ladies, and the children, all the citizens have given up their food and their occupation and are looking wretched and loudly crying, gazing at the path which Rama, accompanied by his wife and brother, has taken.

Well, I shall now go and be near His Majesty (walking about and looking) Ah! His Majesty is attended upon by the Queen and Sumitra, who have controlled themselves by checking the great sorrow due to their children's separation. Sad, indeed, is the state. This His Majesty

Rising and rising, yet falls down, bewailing aloud, again and again, 'alas, alas'; and is gazing at the path which the prince of Raghus took.(5).

(Exit)

Mixed Viṣkambhaka

(Then enter the King and Queens as described). (6).

King—Alas, dear son, Rama, the delight of the world; alas, dear son, Lakṣmana, O thou of noble features; alas, virtuous princess of Mithila, thou who hast thy mind firmly rooted in thy lord,—alas, alas, gone, indeed, are these my children to the forest. (7).

Wonderful, indeed; Lakṣmana who gave up his love for his father for the sake of his love for his brother, him do I wish to see. Ah, dear daughter Vaidehi,

Abandoned by Rama and despised by Lakṣmana, even thou hast abandoned me, the seat of all notoriety in the world.

O my dear son, Rama, dear Lakṣmana, sweet Vaidehi, O dear my children, give me a word in reply. Why, alas, this silence? Not one of them gives me a word in reply. Where art thou, O son of Kausalya,

Truthful, the master of anger, devoid of all rivalry, the delight of the world, O, thou who art always intent upon service to thy parent, give me a word in reply. (8).

Alas, where is he, Rama, the apple of the eye, and the delight of the heart, of all people? Where is that great obedience to me? Where is his sympathy for the wretched and the suffering? Where is he who discarded like a blade of grass the sweets of royalty? Ah, my dear Rama, abandoning thy aged parent why dischargest thou this false duty? Ah! fie upon it! Alas! Alas!

Like the sun is Rama gone; and him did Lakṣmana follow as the day does the sun. And like the shadow when the sun and the day are gone, has Sita disappeared. (9).

(Looking up) Ah! accursed Fate!

Childless are we made; Rama is made the son of another king; and Kaikēyi the tigress in the forest. These three things done, what hast thou not done?

Kausalya—(weeping) Enough now, O Majesty, of overtiring yourself by sorrowing so much. Her and the two princes, your Majesty shall see at the end of the period. (10).

King—Who art thou, ho?

Kausalya—I am she who gave birth to an unloving son.

King—What, what, art thou Kausalya, the mother of Rama who is the delight of the whole world?

Kausalya—Your Majesty, I am indeed that unfortunate wretch.

King—Dear Kausalya, strong, indeed, art thou; for by thee was Rama borne in the womb.

Robbed of my senses, I am, indeed, able neither to suffer nor to check this sorrow which is exceedingly insufferable like the blazing fire. (11).

(Seeing Sumitra) Who may this other be?

Kausalya—Your Majesty, this is Lakşmana's (when thus half said).

King—(suddenly rising up) Where is he, where is Lakşmanan? He is not to be seen. Alas! What a pity?

(The Queens hurriedly rise up and support the king). (12).

Kausalya—Your Majesty, dear Lakşmana's mother Sumitra—thus was I about to say.

King—Dear Sumitra!

Thine alone is the noble son, by whom is Rama, the best of Raghus, followed in the forest both day and night, like his shadow.

(Entering)

Chamberlain—Long live your Majesty! here is come the worthy sire, Sumantra.

King—(quickly rising up and gladly) with Rama?

Chamberlain—Not so; with the chariot.

King—How, how, with the mere chariot? (13)

(Falls swooning)

Queens—Your Majesty, revive, revive. (They rub over his limbs).

Chamberlain—Alas! What a pity! Even such people to suffer such misery! Fate, indeed, cannot be transgressed. Revive, your Majesty, revive.

King—(reviving a little) Dear Balaka, is Sumantra come all alone?

Chamberlain—Your Majesty, it is even so.

King—Alas! What a pity!

If the chariot is come empty, crushed is my hope. This, indeed, is the chariot sent by Time to carry Dasaratha. (14)

Dear Balaka, bring him in quickly.

Chamberlain—As your Majesty orders. (Exit).

King—Lucky, indeed, are the breezes in the forest blowing round the lakes, for these touch, as they please, Rama, wandering in the forest. (15)

(Then enter Sumantra)

Sumantra—(looking around and sadly)

Their duties given up, their eyes bedimmed with rising tears on account of their love for Rama, weighed down by sad thoughts, these, the servants, with their bodies consumed by sorrow, reproach the bewailing King. (16)

(Approaching)

Long live your Majesty!

King—Brother, Sumantra,

Where is my eldest Rama?

No, indeed, no, I have not put right;

Where is thy eldest son, the dear child Rama; where is she, the

daughter of the lord of Vidēhās, she who has so much devotion for her lord and where is the son of Sumitra? And what, what have they spoken to me, their accursed, almost dying, father who has caused an ocean of sorrow for all my subjects? (17)

Sumantra—Your Majesty, No, No, speak not such inauspicious words; before long wilt thou see them.

King—True, I have not spoken properly. This is not the proper query about the sages. Now shall I say it. Do the sages prosper in their penance? (18) Wandering about freely in their forests, the daughter of the lord of Videhas is not tired, I hope?

Sumitra—Sumantra, has that dutiful wife, the tender lady, dressed in many barks of trees and following a conduct not fit for tender woman, has she any words for us and his Majesty?

Sumantra—To the King did all of them—

King—Nay, nay, repeat their names which form nectar to the ear and medicine to the sore heart.

Sumantra—As your Majesty orders. Rama of long life.

King—Do you say, Rama? This is Rama. By merely hearing his name, I seem as if to have felt him. Then, then.

Sumantra—Lakṣmana of long life.

King—This is Lakṣmana. Then, then.

Sumantra—Sita, daughter of King Janaka, of long life.

King—This is the princess of Videha. Rama, Lakṣmana, and Vaidehi, is this the order?

Sumantra—What, then, may the order be?

King—Say Rama, Vaidehi and Lakṣmana.

Let the princess of Mithila stand even there between Rama and Lakṣmana. Numerous are the dangers of the forest and she will thus be well protected.

Sumantra—As your Majesty orders. Rama of long life.

King—This is Rama.

Sumantra—The daughter of King Janaka, may she live long.

King—This is Vaidehi.

Sumantra—Lakṣmana, may he live long.

King—This is Lakṣmana. Rama, Vaidehi, Lakṣmana, dear children, all embrace me.

Once again shall I touch Rama and once again shall I see him. On this nectar-like hope does my dying self, as I think, live.

Sumantra—These got down from their chariot at *Śṛngivērapura* and stood facing Ayodhya. (Then) to the King did all of them bow down their heads and begin to speak.

Long they stood contemplating something, and their lips did quiver desirous of speaking; but their throats choked and they went away without speaking. (19).

King—Went they, indeed, without speaking? (Falls into a deep swoon.)

Sumantra—(confusedly) Balaka, inform the ministers that his Majesty is in an irrecoverable state.

Chamberlain—Yes. (Exit.)

Queens—Revive, your Majesty, revive.

King—(slightly reviving)

Touch my body, O Kausalya; I cannot see you with my eyes. My mind that has run after Rama has not returned even now.

Alas, dear Rama, what has indeed been my constant thought has been by that Kaikeyi made otherwise in a moment by saying that you must go from here to the forest,—you who was ordered to give thy brothers a prosperity equal to that of yours by me who desired to fulfil the wishes of the people by giving them a good king by crowning you.

Sumantra, tell Kaikeyi,

'Rama is gone, may you be pleased; my soul has fled; quickly bring back thy son and may thy sin be fruitful.'

Sumantra—As your Majesty orders.

King—(looking up) Ah, my fathers are come to console me whose heart has been consumed by listening to the story of Rama. Who is there? (20)

(Entering)

Chamberlain—Long live, your Majesty!

King—Water, ho!

Chamberlain—As your Majesty orders, (going out and entering) Long live, your Majesty, here is water.

King—(offering water and looking)

This is *Dilipa*, the friend of the Lord of the Devas; this is Raghu and this is Aja, my worthy father. What may be the reason of your coming? Is it time for me also to (come and) live there with you? (21).

O Rama, O Vaidehi, and O Lakṣmana, I am going hence to the presence of my fathers. Ah fathers, I, I am come. (Falls into a dead swoon).

(The Chamberlain covers it with a sheet)

All—Alas, alas, your Majesty; Alas, alas, your Majesty.

(Exeunt all).

Critical Notes on Act II.

The second act portrays in very vivid colours the tense anxiety that sits on the fair face of Ayodhya consequent upon the unlooked for and tragic course the events had taken. It depicts also in truly dramatic style the

passing away of Dasaratha. This act supplies the only purely tragic picture in the whole range of Sanskrit dramatic literature. We have, indeed, tragic elements introduced elsewhere, but none that paints a pure tragedy; and hence the great interest and importance that attaches to this scene. It is important in that this scene removes, once and for all, the charge that is often, and that with some show of justice, levelled at Sanskrit dramatists that they are incapable of producing a tragedy. Even a casual reading of this act will convince the adverse critic that one at least of our dramatists can enter fully into the spirit, can feel himself quite at home, in painting a tragic picture. It needs scarcely be said that this act is, from a dramatic and artistic point of view, one glorious success. But what appears to us as more interesting than even this is the poet's keen insight of human psychology that has been brought to bear upon the various stages which depict the '*march to the grave*'. And, indeed, it becomes a matter of doubt whether the psychological or the dramatic interest makes the greatest appeal.

The scene is so picturesquely vivid, its interest so all absorbing, its beauties so all appealing, that no elaborate notes seem to be necessary. We shall therefore confine ourselves to elucidate the text and to draw the reader's attention to some of the more salient points in the scene.

The introductory scene briefly touches upon the state of the King and the Kingdom after the departure of the princes to the forest and thus prepares the way for the tragedy that follows.

1. The speech of the Chamberlain suggests that a very serious situation has arisen at Court. Hence the strict injunction that everybody must be vigilant at his or her post of duty.

2. *Samudragrha*. This seems to be very favourite with Bhasa. These are summer houses built in the centre of a lake or any large area of water, to which Kings and Queens retire when the heat becomes intense. From Bhasa we find that such are also utilized in times of sickness (Cf. *Svapna Vasavadatta*) or of sorrow as in the present case.

3. This is a very significant verse and it aptly describes the state to which the King has been reduced. By the three similitudes it is suggested that the King has become deprived of his stability and depth of mind and the vigour and lustre of body. These show, in other words, that all his greatness and glory have departed and that he has become a wreck.

4. This is suggestive of the great love that the immediate servants of the King have for him. The verse following beautifully sums up how Rama's departure has told upon the whole of the animate Ayodhya. The concluding speech of the chamberlain reveals the intense attachment of the Courtiers to the person of the King. For it is strong enough to make them

forget the sorrow due to Rama's exile; they become steeped in great anxiety due to the state of the King.

5. This verse reveals the sad state of the King. The rising and falling and the bewailing tones of the King are the unmistakable symptoms of his intense grief.

6. Here begins the main scene. The scene falls into three well-defined sections; each of these sections has been so constructed that it reaches a climax in a swoon. The succession of these swoons leads, but none too quickly, to the final mortal catastrophe. The gradual and natural working up of the way through these various scenes to the crisis exhibits the poet's great powers of dramatic construction. To begin with, the King, in his dust-soiled dress, opens the scene, paying a befitting tribute to the trio who have gone to the wilds. This takes him to his own cruel, but unavoidable share in shaping the course of destiny, then to the censure of Kaikeyi, and then a review of his own miserable state. Thus he works himself to a climax and he is about to swoon; but is happily prevented by Kausalya. Her interference has been useful only to delay it for a moment and, as ill-luck would have it, she herself becomes the unconscious cause of it. Note the irony of the situation. Again he revives and begins to comment upon the righteous conduct of Lakṣmana. Before, however, this develops into a climax, Sumantra is announced, which by the way is the prelude to another stronger swoon; for he returns without his dear children. Till that moment the King fully, but foolishly, believed that the exiles might return, at least out of consideration for the piteous state of himself and his kingdom. But now that the last hope is shattered, he falls into a deep swoon. This is not yet enough; he revives in the hope that his beloved children may probably have sent him some message of consolation and the consequent disappointment prepares the way for the final mortal swoon. But after reviving, he assumes a new aspect; there is a noticeable change in the mental equilibrium of the King, a change for the worse, and towards the close he is almost raving. This briefly gives a glimpse of the bare skeleton of the Act, but even this we hold is sufficient to show that the various stages are so marshalled that the succeeding effects become more and more intense, till at last in their cumulative effect, they naturally lead to the final tragedy—*death*.

7. In the King's himself opening the scene the tragic picture gets the necessary finishing touch; in calling upon his children he lays great stress upon their outstanding characteristics, the way best suited to enhance his own grief by bringing out in greater relief the greatness of the sorrow he has sustained. Note the undercurrent of self-condemnation in his beautiful appreciation of Laksmana's character, a condemnation that is almost crushing in its effects.

8. Here he dwells upon the innate nobility and greatness of Rama. The plaintive cry for *a word in reply* strikes us exceedingly pathetic. Note in the speech following, his view of Rama's going to the forest. He says he is carried away by a false sense of duty. Indeed, when we bear in mind all the circumstances, there seems to be much truth in the view put forth. It is the more so when we remember them as set forth in the drama. For Rama is making this great sacrifice to satisfy the letter of an order. We shall take up this point for consideration on a subsequent occasion when Queen Kaikeyi explains to her son the main motive of her action.

9. Here is a pathetic picture drawn of the Kingdom after the departure of the trio to the forest. This further helps to bring out clearly the relation between the trio. Rama and Sita and Lakṣmana are as closely related as the sun, the shadow and the sunlight. In the following verse the King briefly sums up the causes of his sorrow: the loss of his children, the exile of his beloved Rama, and the conversion of his most loved wife into a tigress,—enough indeed to overwhelm any living creature.

10. The course of development of the scene has reached the last limits of tension and Queen Kausalya is now wisely made to interfere to give the King a momentary relief. But as it is, it only hastens to lead him to a fit.

11. In the preceding verse the King has described the sources of his sorrow and here he proceeds to describe the effects of his sorrow. His sorrow which is like blazing fire is consuming him. He could neither control it nor suffer it, and as a result he is being robbed of his senses.

12. The stage direction clearly shows that the King falls down on account of the cruel disappointment which is the outcome of the explanation by Kausalya.

13. This suggests how the King has been nursing the hope of his children's return. Cruel is the King's disappointment, the more so since he has till now been playing with the fire of the names of the exiles. The shock now upsets him completely and he falls into a dead swoon.

14. This is a pathetic statement and it suggests that the moments of his life yet remaining are numbered. Note the King orders Sumantra to be quickly brought in; for he seems to be afraid that he cannot long hold out after this piece of crushing news.

15. This is a very piteous and tender statement. The under-current of self-rebuke gives it the finishing touch.

16. Here is another section of the Court represented. The loss of Rama has so completely upset them that they have become incapable of realizing the sad position to which the King has been reduced, and so they have only blame and censure for the King. This reminds us that the King is him-

self chiefly instrumental for his sorrows and this to some extent relieves the tension of the situation for it shows that his sufferings are but his deservings.

17. Here is another statement piteous enough to draw forth our tears. Note the change of *my child* into *thy son*. The poor King feels that he has no right to call Rama *his son*, so great is the injury he has done him. He expects from the trio only one thing, namely a message of hope and consolation. But alas, he is to be disappointed even here. The same bitterness of heart the King reveals in the statement. 18. Rightly does the chamberlain say that fate cannot be transgressed even by such a one as Dasaratha. These, his statements, show that he is past all mortal help. What follows shows that, though he is conscious, he is but a raving maniac.

19. The trio go without sending any message. This was something quite unlooked for ; the King is taken by surprise and he falls into a dead swoon. And why indeed did they not send him any message ? Surely, it cannot be because they were angry with the King. We hold they must have been unmanned by great sorrow, sorrow consequent upon their tender concern for the King, their father, and the Kingdom.

Highly dramatic, indeed, have been the various stages leading to the climax and it attests to the poet's great powers of construction. The King revives once again but it is only to *con amore* the severity of his loss, his own share in the shaping of the cruel destiny and lastly to send to his once *beloved* Kaikeyi a message brimful of irony and sarcasm, a message which is sublime in its tragic pathos. This review only crowns his misery and ere long he succumbs.

20. The King gradually changes his plane of existence, and we are being prepared for the final tragedy. He frees himself of the mortal coil, begins to converse with the departed manes, his glorious ancestors, who have come down to console him in his sorrows ; half-conscious and half-unconscious he offers a welcome in the usual form ; and with the names of his beloved exiles on his tongue falls down into the mortal swoon ; and the tragic scene closes with the woeful wail of all.

This scene, we confidently believe, will produce the greatest stage effect. The dramatic interest is so well-sustained, the human element is so powerfully strong, the blending of the conflicting emotions of love and sorrow and anger is so consistently harmonious, that this scene is decidedly one of supreme success.

SOLAR SIGNS IN INDIAN LITERATURE.*

(By B. V. KAMESVARA AIYAR, ESQ., M.A.).

I propose now to examine a few passages from Sanskrit and Tamil literature in the light of what I have said about the solar signs. The first author I shall take up for examination is Vishṇugupta, referred to by Varāhamihira both in Bṛihat-Samhitā (II-4) and Bṛihat-jātaka. In Bṛihat-jātaka (VII-7) Varāha writes:

आयुर्दाये विष्णुगुप्तोऽपिनैवं देवस्वामी सिद्धसेनश्चचक्रे ।
दोषश्चैषां वर्षमष्टावरिष्टं हित्वानायुर्विंशतेस्त्वादधस्मात् ॥

"Vishṇugupta, Devasvāmin, and Siddhasena have (in forecasting the life of an individual) adopted this method of Āyurdāya (called *Pindāyurdāya*); but the defect of this method is that, excepting the age of eight, the period of bālārishṭa or early death it gives, is in no case any life-period less than twenty (as if no one died between eight and twenty years of age)." In his commentary on this stanza Bhaṭṭotpala writes:

एतदायुर्दायं नकेवलं मय-यवन-मणित्थ-पराद्यैरुक्तं किंतु विष्णुगुप्तेनापि चाणक्यापरनाम्नैवमुक्तं । ... तथाच विष्णुगुप्तः, परमोच्चगतैः सर्वैर्मीने मीनांशसंस्थिते लग्ने । सौम्ये वृषभे जातः परमायुर्वर्षितिथ मनुष्यः ॥

"This *āyurdāya* method has been explained not simply by Maya, Yavana Maṇitha and Parāśara but it has been so expounded by Vishṇugupta, whose other name is Chāṇakya"..... Thus says Vishṇugupta—"a person when born in Mina lagna, while Mercury is in Taurus, and all other planets occupy their exaltation signs lives the full length of man's life." This full-blown astrology based on the position of the planets in the rāśi-chakra cannot, according to my theory, be earlier than the fifth century A.D. But if Bhaṭṭotpala's identification of the author of this quotation be correct, the Vishṇugupta mentioned by Varāhamihira must be the same as Kauṭilya, also called Chāṇakya, who, tradition states, placed Chandragupta Maurya on the throne of Magadha in the fourth century B.C.; and it would follow that the solar signs and horary astrology were known in India in the fourth century *before* Christ.

But it would be evident to any one who has studied the 'Artha-Śāstra' that Kautilya, the author of the work, cannot possibly be the same as the Vishṇugupta referred to by Varāhamihira. For the calendar referred to in the Artha-Śāstra is the luni-solar one treated of in the Vedānga-jyotisha,

* Continued from Vol. XI, No. 3, page 326.

Sisira beginning from the Winter Solstice with the amānta month of Māgha, and two *adhimāsas* being inserted in a cycle of five years, one in the middle of the third year and the other at the end of the fifth year. There is absolutely no reference, in a work consisting of six thousand *granthas*, to the solar signs or solar months named after them. The only reference to astrology is where a belief in the influence of stars is mentioned in Book IX, Chapter IV; and what is more to the point, even this pre-yavana astrology is mentioned only to be condemned. For Kautilya says,[1] "Wealth will pass away from the foolish man who often consults the stars..... What can the stars do?" Such a writer would be the last person to write a treatise on planetary astrology.[2]

In another stanza of Bṛihat-jātaka (XXI-3) Varāha refers once again to Vishṇugupta. It runs:

नकुंभलग्नं शुभमाहसत्वो नभागभेदाद्यवनावदन्ति ।
कस्यांशभेदो नतथास्तिराशे रतिप्रसंगस्त्विति विष्णुगुप्तः ॥

"Satyacharya says that *Kumbha* is not auspicious as a birth-sign. The Yavanas (on the other hand) declare that it is not auspicious, only when the rising *dvādaśāmśa* is Kumbha. Vishṇugupta says that this view is open to the fallacy of *atiprasanga* (over-wide application) as every sign of the zodiac would contain the dvādaśāmśa of Kumbha."

The correctness of Varāha's statement is borne out by the quotation from Vishṇugupta given by the commentator, which runs:

कुंभद्वादशभागो लग्नगतो नप्रशस्यते यवनैः ।
यद्येवं सर्वेषां लग्नगतानामिष्टफलं नस्यात् ॥

Vishṇugupta here refutes the view of Yavana astrologers. Bhaṭṭotpala calls these Yavanas *purāṇayavanas*, the older Yavana astrologers as distinguished from the later Yavana writers, like Suchidhvaja.[3] Whatever the original application of the word *Yavana* may have been,[4] there can be no

1 Artha-Sastra, II—20, 109.

2 *Vide* Mr. Shama Sastry's preface to his translation of the Artha-Sastra, p. xvii. A forecast of rain by noting the appearance of the sun or the position of Jupiter and Venus referred to in the Artha-Sastra (XXIV—116) is pre-yavana in origin. Cf. Br.- Sam, XXI—2 and 5, XXIII—4 and XIV—2.

3 *Cf.* Bhattotpala on Brihat-jataka, VII—9.

यथावराहमिहिरेण पूर्वयवनाचार्यमतमेवोपन्यस्तं अस्माभिः तन्नदृष्टम्, शुचिध्वजमेवदृष्टं । पराशरस्यापि इयमेववार्ता ॥

This Suchidhvaja, also called Yavanesvara by Bhattotpala is identified with Sieusippus by Bhaundaji and with Aphrodiscius by Kern. This Yavaneswara refers to the earlier Yavana writers as गर्तितः पुराणैः (*vide* Bhattotpala on Bri.-ja. 1-4).

4 *Vide* Buhler's Introduction to Gautama, S. B. E., Vol. II, p. LVI and Prof. Keith's Introduction to his translation of Iait. Sam. (L. H. S.) p. CLXV, etc.

doubt that by Hindu astronomers the name was applied to the Alexandrian-Greeks who wrote on astronomy and astrology. Mr. G. R. Kaye mentions[1] a number of these writers, mostly of the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. and rightly says of them, "the works of the great Greek mathematicians were neglected, the teaching of Geometry had degenerated, the rigorous methodology of the earlier writers had almost entirely disappeared and mathematical astrology flourished to an extraordinary degree, in spite of numerous edicts forbidding its practice." The Yavanas whose astrological opinion is here controverted by Vishṇugupta must be these post-Ptolemaic writers, whose writings, either in the original or in translations, appear to have been studied by the Hindu astrologers of this period. If so, this Vishṇugupta must have lived subsequent to these Yavana writers and cannot have been the same as the Vishṇugupta (*alias* Chāṇakya or Kauṭilya of the fourth century B.C.). As pointed out by M. M. Sudhākara Dirvedin,[2] there was one Vishṇugupta, a writer on post-Yavana astronomy, grandfather of the famous astronomer Brahmagupta (born in A.D. 598). He must have lived and written in the first or second quarter of the sixth century A.D. and could very well have been referred to by Varāhamihira who died in A.D. 587. Bhaṭṭotpala, curiously enough, forgets here what he stated in his commentary on Bṛihat-jātaka VII—7 and makes Vishṇugupta and Chāṇakya, two different writers [3]

Let us now consider another writer quoted by Bhaṭṭotpala on Br.-Ja. 1-4—Bādarāyaṇa. From the identity of name one might be inclined to think that this writer is the same as the author of the Vedānta Sutras, who is generally admitted to have lived some centuries before the Christian era, that is, in the Sutra period. Two stanzas are quoted as Bādarāyaṇa's, one in Vasantatilaka metre—मेषःशिरोभवदनं, etc., and the other in a variety of Arya metre—धन्वीचास्योरुयुगं, etc., wherein the several solar signs, Mesha, etc., are identified with the several limbs of *Kālapurusha*. That these stanzas in the later metres of classical Sanskrit are foreign to the succinct style of the Sutra period will be conceded by all critical scholars. The *Jyotirvidābharaṇa* states that this Bādarāyaṇa as well as Satyāchārya (also mentioned by Varāha) lived at the time of Vikramāditya; and students of early Indian History will have little difficulty in recognizing under this title the great Gupta king Chandragupta II, whose annexation of Saurāshtra and Mālwa about A.D. 400 opened up free access to Alexandria and who 'has a better claim than any other sovereign to be regarded as the original of the mythical king of that name who figures so largely in Indian legends."[4]

1 *Vide* 'East and West' July 1918, page 660.
2 Ganaka-Tarangini, page 18.
3 अवनिष्णुगुप्तचाणक्यावाहतुः ॥
4 V. Smith's Early History of India, Third Edition, p. 290.

The next writer is Gārgi whom Bhaṭṭotpala quotes in his commentary on Br.-Ja. I—4. Thus: तथाचगार्गिः—अश्विनीभरणीमेषःकृत्तिकावादमेवच .... रेवती ॥ The *Grantha* edition adds the title Bhagavān, evidently under the impression that the writer is the holy Garga of the remote past.[1] If so, it might be granted that the passage would go back to the centuries antecedent to the Christian era. Let us see whether this supposition can be based on any valid-grounds.

Now there are three writers who are known more or less by the name Garga. The earliest of them is Vṛiddha Garga, whose views on an alleged motion of the *Saptarshis* (Ursa major) are summarised by Varāha in Br.-Sam. (CLXIII). In the Sarasvati-ākhyāna of the Maha-bhārata,[2] it is stated that Vṛiddha Garga performed *tapas* on the banks of the Sarasvati and learned the science of the motions of the stars. He is there spoken of as having lived earlier than the Bhārata War. But he must have lived after the war, since the era of Yudhishṭhira, which commenced with his installation after the war, is mentioned by Vṛiddha Garga, from whom Varāhamihira has derived his information about the epoch.[3] This epoch running from B.C. 2448 appears to have been once widely current. Vṛiddha Garga's work must have been available to Varāha; it is now lost.

The next is Garga (simply so called, to distinguish him from the earlier author). His work is known as Garga-Samhitā or Gārgi-Samhitā. This work is not now found complete. Extracts, however, from his work by commentators like Somākara on the Vedānga and Bhaṭṭotpala on Varāha are numerous. One quotation by Somākara which runs:

यदामाघस्यशुक्लस्य प्रतिपत्तरावगन् ।
सहोदयं श्रविष्ठाभिः सोमार्कौ प्रतिपद्यतः ॥

shows that at Garga's time it was the Vedānga calendar that was in vogue. It would appear, however, that it was getting out of date and that it was apprehended that the winter solstice was likely to occur before the sun reached Śravishṭha and when it so happened something terrible would happen. This is shown by Utpalā's quotation[4] which runs:

यदानिवर्तेऽप्राप्तः श्रविष्ठामुत्तरायणे ।
आश्लेषांदक्षिणेऽप्राप्तः तदाविद्यान्महाभयम् ॥

Garga does not appear to have been aware of (or at any rate, does not notice) the attempt to start the ecliptic from Śravana at the W. S. A quotation by Somākara states:

1 The title is not found in Max Muller's quotation in 'India,' 1883 edition, p. 325.
2 Gada Parva—cha. 35.
3 Br.-Sam. XIII—2 and 3.
4 Br.-Sam. (III—1).

तेषांचसर्वेषां नक्षत्राणां कर्मसुकृत्तिकाः प्रथममाचक्षते, अविष्ठातुसंख्यावाः (? म्) पूर्वालग्नानांषड्राशीतानां ॥[1]

As Garga does not here include Śravaṇa as a third alternative like the *Karmānta* sutras, it would not be quite incorrect to conclude that Garga must have lived before the sixth century B.C. Prof. Max Muller notes about the Garga-samhitā : " Prof. Kern assigns it to about 50 B.C. But as it prophesies the destruction of the Sakas it can hardly be earlier than about 200 A.D. Probably it is later.[2] " The reference to the end of Saka rule is said to be found in a chapter of Garga-samhitā, which is called *yugapurāṇa* and it might well be that this chapter is a later edition. Similarly the quotation by Varāha Mihira in his Br.-Sam., chapter II, beginning with

" उक्तंचगर्गेणमहर्षिणा । कृत्स्नाङ्गोपाङ्गकुशलं होरागणितनैष्ठिकं । .... दैववित् "

(II—7 to 24) must be a later addition to the original Garga-samhita—added not earlier than the 5th century A.D. as it mentions the *hora* sāstra (the Alexandrian horary astrology) by name and as it eulogises the Yavanas (st. 15) for their skill in jyotisha. Until the entire Garga-samhitā is recovered and subjected to a critical examination, it will not be possible to determine definitely which portions form the original samhitā and which, the later additions.

The 27 asterisms lying along or near the ecliptic are not of equal distance from one another. For instance, the longitude of the asterism Pushya is given as 106°, that of Āślesha[3] as 107°, 108° or 109° and that of Maghā as 129⅔°. To suit these unequal distances, Garga is said to have assigned 13° 20′ each to fifteen of the asterismal segments, 20° each to six and 6° 40′ to the remaining six.[4] The Vedānga, on the other hand, adopted what is known as the ' equal space ' system, according to which all the 27 segments are each of a uniform length of 13° 20′.

That Gārgi quoted by Bhaṭṭotpala is different from Garga is seen from the fact that unlike the latter he follows the equal space system and assigns nine nakshatra-pādas to each rāśi beginning from mesha. This Gārgi, as the extract itself shows, was one of the post-Yavana Indian astronomers who adjusted the older asterismal segments to the meshādi.

Another passage mentioning the solar signs is attributed to Baudhāyana, the earliest sutrakāra of the Taittirīya Śākhā. I have already shown that he uses the Vedānga calendar, the W. S. coinciding with the sun in Śravishthā

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1 It is not clear what is meant by *lagna* or the *six* rasis in this passage. According to post-Yavana usage it is not an asterism that is related to a lagna nor are there only six rasis.

2 'India—what can it teach us' 1883 Edn., p. 297 foot-note.

3 The identification of this asterism is not beyond dispute. There is reason to surmise that the post-Yavana astronomers recognized under the name Aślesha an asterism which was considerably to the west of that which was known by that name in Brāhmaṇa literature.

4 *Vide* R. Sewell's Indian Chronography, p. 41. I have not been able to verify the original authority.

in the month of Māgha* and his mention of the equinoctial colure passing between Chitta and Svāti, might suit any period between the 11th century B.C. and the third century A.D. Prof. Keith assigns him to the fifth century B.C. on linguistic grounds and Prof. Caland, to the sixth century B.C.

Professor Max Müller wrote†: "In the Baudhāyana sutras (see Sāyana's commentary in MS., India Office Library, p. 13-a) we read : 'Meshavṛishabhau sauro vasantah mīnameshāu vā'. This.....unless it belonged originally to an old commentary would certainly prove a knowledge not only of the twelve divisions but of their Greek names at the time when the Baudhāyana-kalpa-sutras were finally settled. This point, however, requires further elucidation."

Max Müller has expressed himself here with his usual caution. But the great Indian scholar Mādhava has written more positively in his Kāla-Mādhava ('ritu-prakaraṇa').

"सौरेषतं बौधायनेन" मीनमेषवृषभमेषवृषभनयोर्वासन्तः 'इत्यभिधानात्'

Now, if these observations are correct it would follow that the solar signs were known in India five or six centuries before the Christian Era. Max Müller has quoted the passage in full in the foot-note, to which the reader may refer for the full text. I quote below the portion which is immediately connected with the subject of our enquiry :

1. अथातऋतूनामेवमीमांसा ॥
2. वसन्तेब्राह्मणोऽग्नीनादधीतग्रीष्मेराजन्यःशरदि वैश्योवर्षासुरथकारश्चेति ॥
3. आपस्तंबस्तुहेमन्तेवाशरदिवैश्यस्यशिशिरः सार्ववार्णिकइत्याह ॥
4. अथोखलुवैदैवेन अह्नोपनमेदथादधीतसैवास्यर्द्धिरिति ॥
5. अथवसन्तादयः सौरश्चान्द्रश्चेतिद्विधाभवन्ति । मेषवृषभौसौरोवसन्तः मीनमेषौवा ॥
6. मृगा (मेषा) दिराशिद्वयभानुभोगात्षट्ऋतवःस्युः etc., etc.

The third sentence here cannot be part of Baudhāyana-sutras as Apastamba lived one or two centuries later; it must therefore belong to some old commentary on Baudhāyana. This should be enough to make us suspect that the passage quoted by Max Müller is a jumble of text and commentary. In his commentary on the corresponding passage of Apastamba, Rudradatta quotes from Baudhāyana and with his help we may separate the text from the commentary. Thus :—Apastamba text –

शिशिरःसार्ववार्णिकः V—3—20.

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* Sr : S. माघेमासेधनिष्ठाभिरुत्तरेगैतिभानुमान्, etc.

† 'India' 1883 Edn., pp. 322 and 323.

Com.... ...अत्रवसन्तादि-ऋतुर्क्षाभिः सौरेणचान्द्रमसेनवा, उभयथापिशास्त्रेपुप्रवृत्तेः । ... ... तदिदंबौधायनेनव्याख्यातं । .... तथाचयदैवैनंश्रद्धोपनमेदथावदधात इतिश्रौतमुदाहृत्यव्याचष्ट तदेतदातंस्यातिवेलंश्रद्धायुक्तस्य इति ....

From this we see that Baudhāyana quotes a Vedic text यदैवैनं and explains it as applicable to one into whom faith has entered. It would be thus clear that what I have marked as (3) above belongs to the commentary, that (4) is a quotation from a Brāhmaṇa, that the next sutra should be तदेतदातंस्यातिवेलंश्रद्धायुक्तस्य and that what follows (अत्रवसन्तादयः etc.) is commentary dealing with *rituklipti*. Since Max Müller wrote in 1883 some of the Śrauta-sutras have been critically edited in Europe by Prof. Caland and the passage in question occurs in the first volume of Baudhāyana published by him. It runs thus :—

1. अथातऋतूनामेवमीमांसा ॥
2. वसन्तेब्राह्मणोऽग्निमादधीतग्रीष्मेराजन्यः शरदिवैश्योवर्षासुरथकारइति ॥
3. अथोखल्वप्यदैवैनं श्रद्धोपनमेदथावदधातसैवास्यर्द्धिरिति ॥
4. तदेतदातंस्यातिवेलंश्रद्धायुक्तस्य । etc.

There is no mention at all here of the solar signs Mesha or Vrishabha. Meshavrishabhau sauro vasantah ' etc., is thus part of some old commentary which that encyclopediac scholar of Mediæval India, Mādhava, has mistaken for part of the text of Baudhāyana for want of a critical test like the one I have tried to establish. The commentary cannot be Sāyana's, as the India Office Library MS. would have it. For if it were, Mādhava, Sāyana's brother, could not have been so misled.

The mention of the zodiacal signs in the Rāmāyana (Bal. XVIII 8 to 15 and Ayo. XV—3) is often urged by orthodox pandits as showing that the solar signs were known in India long before the Christian Era. They strongly hold the view that the 24,000 verses of which the extant Drāviḍa editions consist were composed, as they now stand, by Vālmīki, a contemporary of Rama, who afforded the asylum of his hermitage to the banished Sita. Modern critical methods are not likely to appeal to them. Still the following considerations* may be worthy of their attention.

(1) Kataka, one of the best commentators on the Rāmāyana, has noticed wholesale *sargas*, not to speak of isolated passages, as *prakshipta* (interpolated).

(2) There are other *sargas* which have been omitted by him. The presumption is that they were added subsequently to his commentary.

(3) At the time of Bhavabhūti, the Rāmāyana does not appear to have

* Vide Mr. C. V. Vaidya's "Riddle of the Ramayana," for these and other suggestive observations.

developed into the *sarga-bandha* kāvya that it now is. In Act VI of his Uttara rāma-charita ' we read :

कुशः-स्मृतिपत्युपस्थितौ तावदिमौबालकाण्डस्यान्तिमेऽध्याये द्वौ श्लोकौ

रामः-उदीरयतुवत्सः

कुशः-प्रियातुसीतारामस्यदाराः पितृकृताइति गुणाद्रूपगुणाच्चापि प्रीतिर्भूयोभ्यवर्धत ॥

Jn most editions this Rāmāyana Sloka is replaced by another, which is even more poetical :

प्रकृत्यैवप्रियासीता etc. (2) तथैवरामःसीतायाःप्राणेभ्योपिप्रियोऽभवत् । हृदयंत्वेवजानातिप्रीतियोगं परस्परं ॥

This sloka not found in the Rāmāyaṇa appears to be the poet's rendering of the original. (तथाश्चभर्ता ... ...आख्यातिहृदयंहृदा) Another sloka put into the mouth of Kuśa, a little later down, as if from the Rāmāyaṇa, त्वदर्थमिवविन्यस्तः etc., is not found in the corresponding passage of the Rāmāyana (Ayo. 94 and 95). The presumption is that Bhavabhūti has preferred his own rendering to those in the Rāmāyaṇa. But there can be no reason whatever, poetical or otherwise, for his calling the last chapter of Bālakāṇḍa as the last adhyāyā, if in his time the Rāmāyaṇā had been divided into sargas. After the fashion set up by Kālidāsa and Bhāravi, the *sarga-bandha* form, in which each canto closed with stanzas in long metre, had become the defining mark of a mahā-kāvya and the redactors of the Rāmāyaṇa who came after Bhavabhūti must have transformed the work into a *sarga-bandha*-kāvya. If this surmise be correct it would follow that the closing stanzas of the cantos of the Rāmāyana must be even later than the time of Bhavabhūti.

(4) When Jābāli preached heretical doctrines to Rama at Chitrakūṭa Rama censures him wrathfully and observes :

यथाहिचोरः सतथाहिबुद्धःतथागतंनास्तिकमत्रविद्धि। Ayo. CIX—34.

How could Rama have referred to Buddha, a far-later *avatara*, by all accounts ? How could he speak of his own future re-incarnation, Tathāgata, as a thief or condemn his teaching as atheistical ? This stanza is not to be found in the Gauḍa recension.

(5) Now, the first passage in which the solar signs are mentioned describes the nativity of Rama and his brothers :

Thus: ' ततश्चद्वादशेमासेचैत्रेनावमिकेतिथौ । नक्षत्रेऽदितिदैवत्येस्वोच्चसंस्थेषुपंचसु ॥

ग्रहेषुककंटेलग्ने वाक्पताविन्दुनासह ॥ कौसल्याजनयद्रामं ' etc.

The evident intention of this passage is to provide Rama with a horoscope that would fit in with his divine essence.

For according to post-Yavana astrology a person born when five planets

occupy their exaltation signs is divine or god-like, पंचभि र्देवतुल्यः as the maxim goes. This passage is not found in the Gauḍa recension. Once again when speaking of the proposed installation of Rama as Yuvarājā, his birth-lagna, Karkaṭaka is referred to. In a work now consisting of 24,000 verses there are the only two places where there is a reference to the solar signs. In all other places, wherever necessary, it is the older nakshatra-ecliptic that is employed. How can we accept, as any evidence worth the name, these two isolated passages in a work which has undergone repeated additions, revisions, interpolations and even transformations even after the time of Bhavabhūti who lived in the beginning of the eighth century A.D? Prof. Jacobi in his monograph on the Rāmāyana (1893) has tried to prove that excepting the first and the seventh Kāṇḍās, the main body of the work may be assigned to the period between the 8th and the 6th century B.C. Prof. A. B. Keith is of opinion that the second century B.C. saw most of the work complete.[1] But this does not mean that the work has not been added, revised or even transformed later. We may conjecture that whatever *is common to* the southern and the Gauḍa recensions must be earlier than the rest and even the common portion may have been last redacted several centuries after the Christian era. In these circumstances it will be more logical to deduce the date of stray passages in the Rāmāyana from other and independent evidence than to base on such passages any conclusions with regard to the date of Buddha, the advent of the Yavanas, and the Pahlavas[2] into India or the age of the solar signs in Indian literature.

If now the reader should be disposed to accept my contentions as proved, the tests I have laid down may enable us to fix the earliest terminus of a considerable number of authors or particular literary passages. Thus for instance, till of late, many Indian scholars, including the late S. P. Pandit were of opinion that Kālidāsa lived in the first century B.C. The late V. S. Apte has written: 'There is one point, which, if definitely settled, would give the poet's precise date. It is the mention by Kālidāsa of his patron Vikrama. Who this Vikrama is has not yet been definitely settled. Popular tradition identifies him with the founder of the Samvat Era which is said to have commenced 56 B.C. If this view be correct, Kālidāsa must be considered as belonging to the first century before Christ."[3] Max Müller wrote,[4] 'That Kālidāsa both in his Raghuvamśa and Kumārasambhava shows a familiarity with Greek astronomy was clearly shown by Dr. Jacobi, who

1 J. R. A. S. 1915, pages 318—328.

2 *e.g.*, Bāl. K., LV—18; 24, etc.

3 *Vide* also the preface to Mr. Nandargikar's edition of the Raghuvamsa.

4 'India—what can it teach us?' 1883 Edn., pp. 326 and 327.

dwelt strongly on the word *Jāmitra* used by Kālidāsa in the Kumārasambhava (VII—1) as one of the many words borrowed by Sanskrit astronomers from Greek." Shankar P. Pandit in his preface to the Raghuvamśa has tried to invalidate the conclusions to be drawn from such evidence, but without effect. Shankar Pandurang Pandit himself points out several passages clearly proving the poet's acquaintance 'with the judicial astrology based on the Zodiac,' but he declines to discuss the very large question of how much the Indians borrowed or lent and suggests that even if the Indians borrowed from the Greeks, 'they might have done so two or three centuries before the Christian era.'

The word *Jamitra* occurs in the verse तिर्यग्जामित्रगुणान्विताधा (Kumara S VII-1). Though the term is strictly applicable to the seventh house from lagna (लग्नात्सप्तमंस्थाने) it is here extended to a *tithi* and Mallinātha justifies it on the ground 'जामित्रशुद्धिर्लग्नधर्मः, तथापितद्द्वारातिथेरपितथाव्यपदेशोनदोषः'. Some would explain the word as a contraction of जायामित्र, as the seventh house from lagna, according to post-yavana astrology, determines the fortunes of the wife; but philologists would condemn the derivation as unscientific. It is obviously the Sanskritised form of the corresponding Greek term *diametron* and according to my showing, could not have come into use in Sanskrit earlier than 400 A.D. Again, the following from Raghuvamsa (III-13) यदैस्तत:पंचभिरुच्च संस्थितैरमूर्यनै:सूचितभाग्यसंपदं which says of Raghu that he was born when five planets were occupying their exaltation signs—a horary indication of his future greatness—is based on post-yavana astrology. Kālidāsa omits the conjunction in the case of Rama and the Rāmāyana supplies the omission. Perhaps the former has given the hint to the later redactors of the latter. It will be thus seen that Kālidāsa cannot have lived earlier than the beginning of the fifth century A.D.; and if we couple with this the fact that both Kālidāsa and Bhāravi are mentioned as famous poets in an inscription dated Saka 556—634 A.D., we can safely conclude that the date of Kālidāsa must be somewhere between 400 and 600 A.D. As the late Mr. V. A. Smith writes in his "Oxford History of India" 'something like general consent has been won to the proposition that the literary work of the most renowned of Indian poets (Kālidāsa) was accomplished in the fifth century under the patronage of the Gupta kings.' His Vikrama-urvasi reminds one of Chandragupta II, better known by his title Vikramaditya; and his Kumārasambhava is suggestive of the birth of Vikramaditya's son, Kumāra-Gupta who ruled from 413 to 454 A.D.

Amara Simha's line from his Kośa, राज्ञां उदयो लग्ने तेनुमेषवृषादय: would show that he cannot be placed earlier than the fifth century A.D.; and if we

consider this along with the fact that Stanislas Julien* quotes a Chinese translation of Amara Kośa by a native of Ujjain who lived under the Chinese emperor Wou-te (561—566 A.D.), we can safely fix the limits of his date between 450 and 550 A.D.

In several of the Smṛitis and the Purāṇas, we meet with references to the solar signs. All such passages can hardly be earlier than 450 A.D. It must, however, be remembered that the Purāṇas, even more so than the Smṛitis, contain also elements relating to a much remoter past, though all these works have been revised and recast in the Gupta period and subsequently added to from time to time. A few passages may be cited here :—

For solar signs,

(1) *Atri-Samhitā* : सूर्ये कन्यागते, etc. Anandāśrama series, Vol 48, p. 25.

(2) *Gālava-Smriti* : कर्कटे दक्षिणायनं मृगे सौम्यकंसूर्यः etc.

(3) *Brihaspati-Smṛiti* : अयनेविंशतिःपूर्वा: मकरेविंशतिःपरा: ।

(4) *Bhavishyottara purāṇa* : मिथुनान्तर्कसंक्रान्तिः etc.

(5) *Vṛidha-Gārgya-Smriti* : यदास्तमनवेलायां मकरं याति भास्करः ।

These have been quoted by Vaidyanātha Dikshita in his Smriti-muktā-phala. Let us hope he has not quoted from memory. Critical students of Sanskrit Literature need not be told that a considerable number of these works have been fathered on ancient and revered names like Atri, Vyāsa, etc.

For week-days,

(1) The *Matsya-purāṇa* (one of the earliest) devotes a whole adhyāya (97th) to the worship of the sun on "आदित्यवार" the first day of the week and to the last on the previous day (शनिदिन)

(2) *Vyāsa-Smriti* : रविग्रहे सूर्यवारे सोमे सोमग्रहे तथा, etc.

(3) *The Garuḍa-purāṇa*, enumerating the virtues of each week-day beginning from Sunday.

Everywhere, in Sanskrit Literature, so far as I have been able to trace, it is Sunday that heads the list of week-days. Till we find any list which starts with Saturday or any passage showing precedence to Saturday as the first of the week-days, we have to fall back upon the only explanation possible, *viz.*, that we adopted the week from the Alexandrians, as they had it after the edict of Constantine the Great about 325 A.D. had transferred the precedence from the astronomically correct Saturday to the ecclesiastically appropriate Sunday ; and the intellectual intercourse of the Northern Indians with Alexandria was set up only after Chandra-Gupta II had opened up free access thereto. The Rêvati ecliptic would bring us down to the last

* Max Muller's "India", page 326.

decades of the fifth century and implies keen discussion of the Yavana methods for several decades previous to their adoption.

So far, I have confined myself to Northern India and Sanskrit. I shall now examine whether the application of the test of solar signs will yield any valuable results with regard to Tamil literature. The Tamils are seen to have had commercial intercourse with the West several centuries before the Christian era. The following is a brief summary of the late Mr. J. Kennedy's observations* on this question. Among the business tablets found in Nippur in Babylonia, have been found records of the dealings of a banking house with certain Indian merchants who are presumed to be Tamils. Articles of Indian merchandise like rice (அரிசி) are mentioned under names similar to the Tamil word by Sophocles, Aristophanes and others of the fifth century B.C. In the Roman period extending from the annexation of Egypt by Augustus (B.C. 30) to the death of Caracalla (A.D. 217), there was a brisk commerce by sea between Alexandria and the Dravidians as there was between the former and Rome. After Hyppalus had steered a direct course across the Indian Ocean to the Dravidian coast (A.D. 50), a small Dravidian colony took up its abode in Alexandria. After Caracalla's massacre of the Alexandrians in A.D. 216, the Indian colony removed to Adule (Massowah), the great harbour near the entrance of the Red Sea, which henceforward became the clearing house for the Indian goods. This intercourse is also evidenced by the unearthing, in several parts of Pandyan Kingdom, of the coins of the Roman emperors from Augustus (B.C. 44—14) to Zeno (A.D. 471—491). It will be thus evident that many centuries before the Christian era, the Tamils were a commercial, sea-faring, cultured people with a developed language and a distinct civilization of their own. In these circumstances, it will be legitimate to presume that if a borrowal has to be admitted, the Tamils could have derived the solar signs, the week and similar conceptions from the Babylonians or the Greeks several centuries before Christ.

It is unfortunate that there is hardly left any specimen of Tamil literature antecedent to the Christian era. Tradition† says that the Pandyan rulers maintained three Academies of poets, that the first academy (தலைச்சங்கம்) lasted for four thousand and odd years, that it was held at old Madura, since submerged under the sea, that it was presided over by Muruga, Agastya, Ādiśesha incarnated as Murinjyūr Muḍināgarāyar, etc. Agastya's grammar was

* J. R. A. S. 1917. The evidence about peacocks (தோகை—*tuke*, in 'The Kings' and The Chronicles') being taken to the West in Solomon's ships in the 10th century B.C. has been often discussed.

† *Vide* the introduction to Nakkirar's commentary on இறையனாரகப்பொருள் and an old அகத்தியனார் quoted by M. M. Swaminatha Aiyar in his உரைநடைமுறை to his edition of சிலப்பதிகாரம்.

the authority for the poets of this period. This account will be unhesitatingly voted 'mythological'. Extracts from Agastya's grammar (பேரகத்தியம்) are found quoted in modern works—for instance, ஒள்ளின்றாகிலெண்ணெயுமில்லை, etc., which look dreadfully modern. Another work, an abridged one, is known as சிற்றகத்தியம். Both, if they existed, are now lost. I have known Tamil pandits to father their extempore sutras on Agastya in defence of their poetical licenses! A stanza ascribed to Muḍināgarāyar is included in புறநானூறு. It* addresses a Chera King (Serul Ādan), praises him as having supplied provisions to the contending armies in the Bhārata war and wishes him long life and prosperity. This feat is also alluded to in Silappadigāram (வாழ்த்துக்காதை—ஊசல்வரி). This stanza cannot, however, be as early as it professes to be. It looks even more modern than the other stanzas included in this anthology. It speaks of the five elements (ஐம்பெரும்பூதம்) and the *four* Vedas (நாலுவேதம்) which were not recognised till the period of the Upanishads. Tradition may have ascribed the feat to an ancestor of the Chera rulers and this poet, perhaps, transferred the traditional fame to a contemporary Chera. Silappadigāram, (23. *l.* 55) ascribes it to a Chola king also. It would appear to be a boastful tradition of Chera and Chola rulers. We may safely conclude that no credible vestige now remains of the literature that tradition has ascribed to the first sangam (முதுகாரை, முதுகுருகு, கனரியாவிரை, etc.).

The second sangam is said to have lasted for 3000 and odd years, and to have been held at Kapāṭa-pura†. It was presided over by Agastya, who as a *Chira-Jivin* is believed to be still residing in the Podiya hills, Tolgāppiar, Mosi and others. The grammars of Agastya and Tolgāppiar were the authorities for this period. Māpurāṇam, Isainuṇakkam, etc., some of which are referred to by later commentators were composed in this period. Kapāṭapuram has also been submerged and the only work of this sangam that has survived to-day is the grammar of Tolgāppiar. This grammarian is said to have been a Brāhman, Tṛiṇa-dhūma-agni by name and called Tolgāppiar from his gotra, *Kāppiya*.‡

All that we can infer from these traditions is that the earliest Brahman

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* ஐவரொடு சிவன இ
ஈரைம்பதின்மரும்பொருதுகளத்தொழியப்
பெருஞ்சோற்று மிகுபதம் வரையாது கொடுத்தோய், etc.

† कपाटपाण्ड्यानां' (Rāmāyana, Kish. K. 41-19) refers, I think, to this capital of the Pandyas, though the Sanskrit commentators, ignorant of this tradition, have not noticed it. Similarly the expression द्रमिडशिशु in Saundaryalahari, which plainly refers to Jnāna-Sambandha, is misinterpreted by Lakshmidhara and other commentators unaware of Tamil traditions.

‡ Kāvya or Bhārgava in Sanskrit. It is noted as an ancient family of Brahman settlers in South India—காப்பியத்தொல்குடி.—in Silap. 30—*l.* 83.

settlers in the Tamil land were represented by Agastya and his followers, that Agastya, probably a descendant and name-sake of the Vedic Rishi, acquainted, as he was, with the grammatical doctrines of North India, analysed the elements of the Tamil language and provided it with a grammatical frame-work. Tolgāppiam must have been composed many centuries later, since it presupposes a vast body of Tamil literature since extinct and a store-house of poetical conventions and literary usages peculiar to the Tamil land. His being said to be the disciple of Agastya probably means nothing more than a recognition of his indebtedness to the pioneer work of the latter. For, as I shall try to show later, Tolgāppiam can hardly be earlier than the third century A.D.

We come to historic ground with the third sangam (கடைச்சங்கம்). It is said to have lasted a thousand and odd years and presided over by forty-nine poets, such as Nakkīrar, Marudan Iḷanāganār, Nallandavanār, etc. It was held at the later Madura. The works of the poets of this sangam have been preserved in the collections known as பத்துப்பாட்டு (Ten Idylls) and எட்டுத்தொகை (Eight Anthologies), which appear to have been compiled and put together at a later date. Nakkīrar also wrote a commentary on a work known as இறையனாரகப்பொருள். This is a small treatise on erotics, said to have been found, engraved on copper-plates, on the pedestal of the image of Siva (இறையனார்) in the temple at Madura, that all the forty-nine poets were asked by the Pandyan King to write commentaries on the same, that Nakkīrar's was found to be the best, and Iḷanāganār's was the second best. Nakkīrar's alone has survived. The Introduction to this commentary mentions eight generations of scholars through whom the work was handed down.

Tradition states that the Kural of Tiruvalluvar was the last work to receive the imprimatur of this Sangam, that the forty-nine poets of the Board composed, each, a eulogistic stanza on the merits of this poem, that the acceptance of the poem led to the extinction of the Sangam, as Tiruvalluvar, the author, was a low-caste man. This tradition, like a great many others, is a fiction. The word Vaḷḷuvar (வள்ளுவர்) originally meant 'an officer under a king,' 'a king's herald' and is so used by Kamban. Its modern meaning of 'a low caste soothsayer' of a much later origin, must have given rise to this legend. Sittalai Sāttanār, considered to be one of the forty-nine poets of this Sangam, refers to Tiruvalluvar in terms* which would show that the well-known couplet in Kural about the chaste wife had even then become as familiar as it is at present. The expression used by Sāttanār அப்பொய்யில் புலவன் பொருளுரை,

* மணிமேகலை 22-ll. 59-61. The veṅbā in சிலப்பதிகாரம் (23, கட்டுரைகாதை) is an allusion to and an echo of the same couplet.

'the wise saying of *that* truthful poet' imply that the fame of Tiruvalluvar had become established by the time of Sāttanār, so well indeed established that the authorship of the couplet had no need to be expressly mentioned by name. It would not be unreasonable to allow a margin of a century for the establishment of such wide-spread renown. As for the 49 eulogistic stanzas, which are still repeated in the legendary accounts of Tiruvalluvar, they can claim no better authenticity than the fabricated verses in Bhoja-prabandha.

Talking of Sittalai Sāttanār and his epic, Manimekalai, I would draw the attention of the reader to a passage in the poem, to which my test will apply with effect. It runs:

இருநிலவேனிலெரிகதிரிடபத்
தொருபதின்மேலுமொருமூன்றுசென்றபின்
மீனத்திடைமிசைமீனத்தகவின் *

"In the month of Vṛishabha, under the nakshatra, which, after thirteen nakshatras have passed, occurs as the central one among the (27) asterisms (of the ecliptic.)" This, as meant here, is Visākhā, the fourteenth or central, counting from Kṛittikā. It is the traditional birth-date of Buddha, the full-moon under Visākhā in the month of Vaisākha, to which corresponds the solar month of Vṛishabha.

M. M. Swaminatha Aiyar, the learned editor of the poem, to whom the Tamil world should ever be indebted for the invaluable service he has rendered in resuscitating the ancient Tamil literature, observes that this passage shows that the author of the poem should have lived in the period when the asterismal series was reckoned from Kṛittikā. This view is not tenable. Buddhist traditions reckoned from Kṛittikā and the author, a Buddhist poet, has simply followed the traditions of his religion. Vedic texts counted from Kṛittikā and this usage continued to a far later period, as shown by Garga and the Karmānta Sutras. Yajnavalkya Smriti (about A.D. 300) begins with Krittikā and ends with Bharani.† Jnāna-Sambandhar, a younger contemporary of Appar, who, for good reasons, is found to have lived in the reign of the Pallava King Mahendra-Varman (A.D. 600—625) refers to Krittikā as the first (asterism).‡ Even at the present day, *e.g.*, for Salyoddhāra purposes, the astrological diagram commences with Krittikā and the sixty naḍikās of a nyethemeron are apportioned among the 28 asterisms (including Abhijit) at

* Gāthā (காதை) 11, ll.40-42; repeated in canto 15, ll.23-25. முகனைகவின் is another reading.

† अशानादुभविधिवत्:श्राद्धंप्रयच्छति । कृत्तिकादिभरण्यन्तंसकामानाप्नुयादिमान् ॥

‡ கொளமுபதிகம், 'ஒன்பதொடொன்றுடனே, etc':

ஒன்று here evidently refers to Kṛittikā, ஒன்பது to Purva-Phalguni, ஏழு to Aslesha and so on, as these are the asterisms considered as inauspicious for undertaking journeys as stated in the well-known Sloka.

2½ naḍikās to each of the asterisms beginning with Krittikā at sun-rise.* As observed by Max Müller, 'all works in which the lists of nakshatras begin with Asvinī must be later than the first year in which the equinox touched Asvinī...but it does by no means follow that works in which the Krittikās are mentioned as the first nakshatra are therefore prior even to Varāha mihira.' If Krittikā has retained its first place even to-day in regard to certain astrological and other rites it would only mean that its Vedic precedence has still survived, as in the case of several other usages long out of date by lapse of time—not that the works which refer to Krittikā, directly or indirectly, as the first nakshatra are earlier than the epoch of the Vedānga, when for purposes of calculation Krittikā was replaced by Śravishthā.

त्रीणिपूर्वामघाज्येष्ठाभरणीकृत्तिकैवच । स्वातीसर्पविशाखार्द्रा चित्रागमनवर्जिताः ॥

Now, in the passage under examination, the mention of a solar month (இடபம், Tamilised from Vṛishabha) will definitely give us the earliest limit for the date of the poem. Solar months, designated by the corresponding solar signs, did not come into use in North India till about the middle of the fifth century A.D. The Sanskrit names for these solar months should have reached South India and secured usage in Tamil works only about the close of the fifth century. If instead of the Tamilised Sanskrit word இடபம் Sāttanār had used a word like ஏறு it would be possible to maintain that Sāttanār might have been indebted to the Babylonians or the Greeks and not to the post-yavana astronomers of Northern India.

The date of Maṇimekalai naturally leads to that of its sister poem, Silappadigāram. For Maṇimekalai, the introductory *Padigam*† tells us, was published under the auspices of Iḷango-adigaḷ, the author of Silappadigāram, which was, after a little while, brought out under the presidency of Sāttanār ‡. Prof. J. Vinson of Paris doubts this tradition, which is recorded in the padigams which are probably later supplements. But apart from characteristic individual differences and those due to the tendency and subject matter of each, one being a historical romance with an ethical aim and the other being mainly intended to expound the later Buddhistic *dharma* and philosophy, there is nothing to justify this view. On the other hand, the parallelisms of thought and expression, so frequently pointed out by M. M. Swaminātha Aiyar in his commentary on Maṇimekalai, would strongly support the evidence of the padigams. Mr. L. D.

* சினேந்திரமாலை சில்லியகா 5—7.

† l. 95 'இளங்கோவேந்தனருளிக்கேட்ப.

‡ சிலப்ப, Introductory பதிகம்

உரைசாலடிகள்குளமதுகை

கூலவாணிகன்சாத்தன்கேட்டனன், ll. 88-89.

Swamikkaṇṇu Pillay, considering the astronomical data furnished by the text along with others conjectured by the commentator Aḍiārkkunallār in the course of his commentary, is of opinion that all these, put together, would point to A.D. 756. Linguistic criteria would, however, support a much earlier date; nor would it be correct to press into evidence the surmises of the commentator, which might be evidence only of the extent of *his* astronomical knowledge or of what was true at the time he wrote.

The following lines from Silappadigāram would, in my opinion, furnish the *terminus a qua* of the poem.

ஆடித்திங்கட்பேரிருள்பக்கத்
தழல்சேர்குட்டத்தட்டமிஞான்று
வெள்ளிவாரத்து etc.*

The word *vāra* in the expression வெள்ளிவார (Friday) acquired, as already shown, the technical sense of 'week day' only about the fifth century A.D. If instead of வெள்ளிவாரம் the poet had used an expression like வெள்ளிக்கிழமை, a purely Tamil term, we may maintain that the week-days might have been imported into South India even before the Christian era. This is not the only Sanskrit word in this passage of three lines. Āḍi (ஆடி) is the Tamil form of *āshadhi*† Pakka (பக்கம்) is the Sanskrit *paksha*; and aṭṭami (அட்டமி) is the Sanskrit *ashṭami*. The poem can hardly be earlier than, say, the middle of the fifth century A.D.

This conclusion, it is needless to add, would clash with the general opinion that the poem belongs to the second century A.D., which is mainly based on the evidence furnished by the two references to a Ceylon ruler named Kayavāhu (Skt. *Gajabāhu*). It is stated in the poem that Kayavāhu of Ceylon (இலங்கை) was present when the Chera King Senguṭṭuvan who had installed and defied a statue of Kaṇṇagi, the heroine of Silappadigāram, had a vision of her divine form in the temple dedicated to her and that after returning to Ceylon he instituted in his country a festival in her honour. The 'Mahāwamso', a Ceylonese Chronicle, mentions two kings of the name of Kayavāhu, the first, placed by Prof. Geiger between A.D. 173—191 and the second, assigned to the twelfth century. As the latter date is certainly out of the question, Kayavāhu mentioned in the poem must be the one who ruled in the second century A.D. and the poem which professes to record a contemporary event must also belong to the same period.

* கட்டுரைகாதை, ll. 138-135.

† The names of the Tamil months are, as well-known, derived from the Sanskrit *lunar* months, mostly from the names of the corresponding full-moons. The word திங்கள் used for the month would also show that the Tamil months were originally lunar, as in North India. When the meshādi months came to be adopted in South India, the lunar names came to denote the corresponding *solar* months. Probably by the time of Silappadigāram the change in application had been effected. This conjecture must, however, await further evidence.

Let us see how far this evidence is reliable. Tested by modern critical methods, Silappadigāram will hardly be accepted as sober history. It would not be easy to separate fact from fiction, to ascertain what pertains to historical events and what is due to poetic embellishments. Again, the introductory பதிகம் and உரை பெறுகட்டுரை and the last canto (வரந்தருகாதை) would appear to be late additions. The former carries its own evidence; the poem should, properly speaking, end with the canto of benediction (வாழ்த்து). A further canto appears to be added to bring up the number of cantos to that of its sister epic. It is, to say the least, curious that the two references to Kayavāhu in the poem, as it now stands, occur in these two apparent supplements. Nor are the references quite consistent with each other. In the former,* Kayavāhu is simply somebody named Kayavāhu of the island of Ceylon; in the latter† he is called a (வேந்தன்). In the former Kayavāhu simply *hears* of the marvellous occurrences connected with the history or story of Kaṇṇagi and of the timely rains and prosperity that dawned on the Pandya and the Kongu country when the rulers thereof had instituted propitiatory ceremonies and festivities in her honour and thereupon he also built a shrine for her image and held festivals in her honour several times and then timely rains fell, the land became fertile and prosperous. In the latter, he was the guest of the Chera King, when the vision of the translated heroine visibly appeared before them all in the temple dedicated to her and he, along with the Arya princes released by the Chera King, the rulers of Kongu and Malwah, prayed to her to bless them also with her presence when they after returning should hold festivals in her honour in their country. The latter passage is the earlier as it is included in the list of cantos given in the former.

'Mahāwamso' is not a safe guide to rely upon. It is not history but a medley of ecclesiastical legends. Its value for historic purposes has been more than once questioned by the late Mr. V. A. Smith. Prof. Rhys David's praise of the work would appear to be biassed and one-sided. Again, it is said that this work exists in several recensions. Have all these been collated and compared, as has been done by Mr. F. E. Pargiter with regard to the Purāṇas?

Is there in this work or in Dīpavamśa or Buddhaghosha on which Mahāwamśo is said to be based any reference to the visit of Kayavāhu of the second century to the Chera King or his dedication of a shrine to Kaṇṇagi and the institution of a festival in her honour? Yet these are events which no historian would pass over.

Again how are we to explain the omission in Silappadigāram of the invasion of the Chola Kingdom by this Kayavāhu, of which so much is made in

* அது கேட்டுக் கடல் சூழிலங்கைக்கயவாகுவென்பான்.

† கடல் சூழிலங்கைக்கயவாகுவேந்தனும் (30, *l.* 160).

the Ceylon chronicles and which, if it referred to the Kayavāhu mentioned in the poem must have been too fresh in the mind of the poet to escape mention, the poet being the brother of the Chera King whose guest the Ceylon nobleman was and a fellow-visitor to the shrine? In one of the Chronicles, called Rājāvali, the invader of the Chola country is called Rājabāhu*. If further researches should find this to be the correct name, Kayavāhu of the second century would disappear.

Mahāwamso is stated by competent critics to be less trustworthy* than the Purāṇas. Yet we know that the latter, while professing to give the genealogies of Magadha Kings, pass over a great many names—names of short-lived or otherwise unimportant kings. Asoka, the greatest of the Magadha Kings, one of the greatest rulers of the world, is barely mentioned; for in the eyes of the Puranic redactors, the founder of a heretic Church deserved no better notice! Could not the Ceylon chronicles have similarly passed over, even without mention of name, another Kayavāhu who might have ruled in the fifth century A.D. and defied the traditions of his country by bringing in an outlandish deity like Kaṇṇagi. Perhaps, as hinted in the உரைபெறு கட்டுரை, this Kayavāhu might have been a mere nobleman belonging to the ruling house of Ceylon. If so he could have found no mention even in a regular history. As justly observed by Mr. L. D. Swamikkaṇṇu Pillay 'between the hypothesis that the criterion of a week-day in Southern India was possible in the second century A.D. and the hypothesis that there may have been a Gajabāhu in Ceylon intermediate between Gajabāhu I of the second century A.D. and Gajabāhu II of the twelfth century A.D. we are certainly compelled to adopt the latter as being the less improbable supposition?†

Let us now examine a passage from Paripāḍal, an anthology of the third Sangam. It occurs in the eleventh song and its author is Nallanduvanār. It runs thus:

விரிகதிர்மதியமொடுவியல்விசும்பு புணர்ப்ப
வெரிசடையெழில்வேழுந்தலையெனக்கீழிருந்து
தெருவிடைப்படுத்தமூன்றொன்பதிற்றுருக்கையு
(4) ளுருகெழுவெள்ளிவந்தேற்றியல்சேர
வருடியைப்படிமகன்வாய்ப்பப்பொருடெரி
புந்திமிதுனம்பொருந்தப்புலர்விடிய
(2) வங்கியுயர்நிற்ப வந்தணன்பங்குவி
(5) ளில்லத்துணைக்குப்பாவெய்தவிறையமன்

* Prof. S. K. Aiyangar's 'Ancient India', p. 364.

† *Vide* 'The system of Chronology in early Tamil Literature', p. 17.

(6) வில்லிற்கடைமகரமேவப்பாம்பொல்லை
(7) மதியமறையவருகாளில்வாய்ந்த
பொதியின் முனிவன்புரைவரைக்கீறி
(3) மிதுனமடையவிரிகதிர்வேனி
(1) லெதிர்வரவுமாரியிவைகெனவில்வாற்றாற்
புரைகெழுசையம்பொழிமழைதாழ.....

The several expressions in this passage are numbered in the order of my observations in the light of பரிமேலழகர்'s commentary.

(1) The season of hot summer (முதுவேனில்) had passed and the rainy season (கார்) had set in.

NOTE.—In Tamil literature, from the earliest times so far as extant literature goes, the year is divided into six seasons (பெரும்பொழுது), commencing with கார் which comprises ஆவணி and புரட்டாதி, as explained by Nachchinārkkinyār in his commentary on Porul-adhikaram (தொல் : 6—10). The expression thus means 'the month of ஆவணி was commencing'.

(2) 'At day-dawn Kṛittikā was in the zenith.

NOTE.—That is to say, the sun was in Maghā at sunrise. பரிமேலழகர் explains 'ஆதித்தன்சீயத்தையடைய'—'when the sun entered Simha'. Simha begins with the first pāda of Māgha and ends with the first pāda of Uttarāshāḍha. With sunrise in the first pāda of Maghā in the month of ஆவணி (Simha) as noted in (1), the vernal equinox should have coincided with the sun in the first pāda of Aśvinī. This would take us to the fifth century A.D.

(3) 'When Canopus (Agastya) was right against Mithuna.'

NOTE.—The longitude of Canopus is variously given by the post-yavana astronomers—ranging from 80° to 908 from Revati. Mithuna rāśi covers 61° 16° to 90° from Revati.

(4) Venus was in Vrishabha-vīdhi, Mars in Mesha-vīdhi and Mercury in Mithuna-vīdhi.

NOTE.—The ecliptic is here divided into three vīdhis (paths), as explained in the lexicon Pingalandai :

இடபஞ்சிங்கமிதுனங்கடக
மிலையாகான்குமேட்வீதி, etc.

For other views on the vīdhis, the reader may consult Varāha's Br.-Sam. (IX—1 to 7). It may be incidentally mentioned here that the two (earliest) lexicons of the Tamil language, சேந்தன்'s திவாகரம் and பிங்கலந்தை, which mention the rāśis beginning with mēsha and the asterisms with Aśvinī heading the list cannot be earlier than the fifth century A.D.

(5) Jupiter was in Mīna, which is next to Makara and Kumbha, the houses of Saturn.

(6) Saturn occupied Makara.

(7) The moon was eclipsed by the serpent (Rāhu).

NOTE.—The moon and Rahu (its ascending node) were in Makara and Kētu in Karkaṭa.

The drift of the passage is that it was the full-moon of ஆவணி, when the several planets occupied the several rāśis as above-mentioned and the moon was eclipsed.

It should be possible for experts to calculate the exact date corresponding to these positions. Meanwhile it is obvious that all this is the full-blown astronomy of the post-yavana period. The passage mentions some of the rāśis by their technical *Sanskrit* names, (Mithuna, Makara). It is thus evident that the post-yavana system of Northern India had filtered down to the South when this poem was written. A margin will have to be allowed for this filtration ; a few decades will be enough for this, as we learn from Silappadigāram and other sangam works that at this period the intercourse between North and South India was frequent and uninterrupted. Nallanduvanār, it may be safely concluded, belongs to the close of the fifth and the beginning of the sixth century A.D.

Now, this poet was the author of one whole canto (நெய்தற்கலி) of கலித்தொகை, one of the Sangam anthologies and compiler of the whole work. He is mentioned by name by another poet of the third Sangam, Marudan Iḷanāganar, contemporary of Nakkīrar, both of whom wrote commentaries on Agapporul and have also addressed stanzas to the same Pandya King (இலவந்திகைப்பள்ளித்துஞ்சியமன்மாறன்—st. 55 and 56 of புறநானூறு). Nakkīrar's mention of the zodiac commencing with Mesha (மருப்பினாடுதலையாக, நெடுநல்லாடை *l.* 160) must, in these circumstances, be referred to the Meshadi ecliptic commencing with Revati.

One other passage from a stanza by a Sangam poet (புறநானூறு, st. 229 by கூடலூர் கிழார்) may be briefly noticed here.

ஆடியலழற்குட்டத்
தாரிருணரையிரவின்.

The commentator paraphrases the first line : மேடவிராசிபொருந்திய கார்த்திகை நாளின் முதற்கால்*—the first pāda of Krittikā comprised in Mesha. As Mesha contains the four pādas of Aśvinī, four of Bharaṇi and the first pāda of Krittikā the passage refers to the Meshadi ecliptic beginning from the first point of Aśvini.

From all this we may conclude that the third Sangam lasted till the close of the fifth and the early part of the sixth century A.D.

* A similar expression 'அழல்சேர்குட்டம்' in சிலப் 23, *l.* 134, is explained in அரும்பதவுரை as கார்த்திகை பரணி.

Tolgāppiam according to tradition, goes back to the second Sangam. It is probably the earliest existing work in Tamil and may be safely accepted as the earliest of Sangam works *now extant*. A sutra of this work runs:

மறைந்தவொழுக்கத்தோரையுகாளுந்
துறந்தவொழுக்கங்கிழவோற்கில்லை (பொருள்—135).

Nachchinārkkiniyār renders it as meaning that clandestine lovers need not avoid inauspicious horā or nakshatra for their union, though the obvious meaning would be that they should be consulted—an interpretation which would not clash with sutra 92, which recognises Gāndharva union as lawful. Nachchinārkkiniyār renders the word ஓரை as (an inauspicious) rāśi.* Now the word ஓரை, as no unbiassed scholar will doubt, is the Greek word *orā* or *horā*, which first acquired the meaning of $\frac{1}{24}$ part of a nyethemeron at the time of Hipparchus and which acquired the astrological significance of 'a lagna, auspicious or malevolent according to the position of the planets,' only in post-Ptolemaic astrology about the third century A.D. Though we may grant that this technical word might have come to the Tamils *direct* from Alexandria, the sutra in question can hardly be earlier than the third century A.D.

If the validity of the solar tests be accepted, it would follow that the termini of the earliest period of *existing* Tamil literature would have to be placed approximately between the third and the sixth century A. D., that some of the poets who are described as the members of the third Sangam lived in the century covering the latter half of the fifth and the first half of the sixth century and that with the further help of linguistic criteria we may conclude that Silappadigāram and Maṇimēkalai belong to the close of this period. We have thus a margin of three and a half centuries left to account for the growth and development of the last Sangam and for the differences of style, matter and linguistic characteristics between the earliest and the latest specimens of this period.

These differences become well-marked if we compare the extant sangam works with Tamil hymnal poetry which comes into evidence from about the middle of the seventh century A.D., in the songs of Appar and Sambandhar. A few of these differences may be briefly referred to here.

I GRAMMATICAL FORMS.

(*a*) நீயிர், நும், and நின் are the only forms recognized in Tolgāppiam; நீம், நீங்கள், உன், and உம் came into use later and find recognition in Nannūl.†

(*b*) கள் is mentioned in Tolgāppiam only as a plural neuter sign and

* *Cf.* also முங்கலப்பெருங்கணிவகுத்தபோரையான் (சீவகசிந்தாமணி st. 24) 'the auspicious lagna fixed by the will-boding astrologer.'

† *Cf.* தொல், எழுத்து st. 326; சொல் 196 and 170—192; and நன்னூல் பெயரியல் st. 30.

Nachchinārkkiniyār is therefore obliged to explain the (rational) termination of later times as an expletive.*

(c) The present tense-sign கின்று is rarely found in Sangam works. It becomes more frequent in Silappadigāram and Manimekalai and is quite common in later literature.†

II VOCABULARY.

(a) Words of Sanskrit origin are of rare occurrence in the earliest specimens, and Tolgāppiam feels no necessity like the Nannūl; to enunciate rules for the transformations which they undergo in Tamil.

(b) Words beginning with ச, ரை and சென are not recognised by Tolgāppiar and Nachchinārkkiniyār notes that words like சகடம், சட்டி, and சனி crept into Tamil at a later time.§

III MATTER.

Sangam works, as a rule, treat of the themes known as பொருள், divided into அகம் (erotics) and புறம் (war-like exploits). Time and tract are classed, each under several heads and to each are assigned particular poetic situations known as திணை and துறை, which are all dealt with in detail in Tolgāppiam chapters on பொருள் and to which most of the early specimens of literature conform.

IV METRE.

ஆசிரியம் and அகவல், often in one continuous course running through several lines or even hundreds of lines, with necessarily involved and long-drawn syntax, form the chief feature of the early works. Silappadigāram introduces several varieties of short and lovely songs. From the period of Hymnal poetry விருத்தம், after the manner of Sanskrit quatrains, becomes the most usual form.

Already in Silappadigāram we can trace the transition period, the songs in praise of மாயோன் in the dance-songs of shepherd-maids (ஆய்ச்சியர்குரவை) having almost the flavour and fervour of the early Hymnal period. But the heart-stirring strains of the early Saiva and Vaishṇava saints, simple yet fervid, and attuned to the popular ear and understanding, may by themselves be considered adequate enough to sound the death-knell of the Sangam vogue and usher in a literary style and form which appealed directly to the heart and the head of the people.

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* *Cf.* தொல் : சொல் st. 171 and நச் Commentary ; and நன் பெய. st. 21.

† *Vide* 'The tense-signs' in Dravidian literature by Mr. R. Swaminatha Aiyar of Madras, in 'The summary of papers' published by the Poona First Oriental Conference.

‡ நன் : பத : 20—22.

§ தொல் : எழுத்து. st. 62 and commentary.

THE LEGENDS OF KERALA.

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(*Continued from Vol. XI, p. 372.*)

XI

THERE is another version about the *Legend of the Gem*. According to this, there used to shine on the body of the idol what appeared to be a gem. There was a controversy as to what kind of gem it was, some holding it was the Manikka-kkallu and others only a diamond. The Maharaja of Travancore had with him a jewel of the former kind and it was decided to bring it for the purpose of comparing it with the one on the idol and thus settling the dispute. The same course of incidents followed and His Highness came to exercise the right he now has.

XII

We have in the preceding sections made mention of Tachudaya-Kaimal. He is accepted to be the Temporal representative of God and in all matters pertaining to the management of the temple he is, at least was, the highest authority. His position more or less corresponds to that of Jagat Gurus of the various mutts. He is to lead a Brahmachari life, devoting himself to doing penance and looking after the temple property. He seldom goes out and, if at all he does, he will go through his *own* land only, and that in triumphal march. The following is a legend connected with one such march.

The Temporal Lord was on one occasion marching through his own land in a palanquin surrounded by all the paraphernalia of his spiritual and temporal position. When he was proceeding in one direction, the Zamorin of Calicut, who was then residing at Trichur was coming from the same direction. Who, now, was to make way for the other? The Deputy of God could not indeed make way for a mere man, even though he was a king and conqueror. The Zamorin did not know who the other was, and he thought it beneath his dignity to make way for a mere plebeian, though he appeared to be a spiritual head. Hence he urged his palanquin bearers to proceed onwards, asking his staff to clear the way, if need be. The latter were in a fix, tossed about by their sense of religion and of duty. While they were doubting and hesitating, the palanquins were approaching nearer and nearer. Impatient at the insubordination of his officers and angry with the insolence of a priest, the Zamorin sat up and first looked at his officers and then at the occupant in the other palanquin, when lo! he found not a man but the

veritable God Vishnu Himself, reclining there in all His divine glory. Rudely shaken and quickly brought to his senses, he jumped out of his conveyance and humbly fell prostrate on the ground. Then to expiate for his insolent attitude he made a gift to the temple of all the lands around as far as the eye could reach, and then with the blessings of the *Tachudaya-Kaimal*, he retreated to his camp. Thus at one stroke was got for the temple a vast stretch of land which has henceforth come to be called *Elavunadu*, *i.e.* Free land.

XIII

In the month of *Thulam*, *i.e.* either in the latter half of October or the earlier half of November there is in the temple a particular ceremony known as *Mukkuli-offering** which comes the day after *Tri-Puthiri*.† The origin of this runs thus :—

Tri-Puthiri is a day of feasting after the new harvest. On one occasion Vilva-Mangalath-Swamiyar happened to visit the temple the day after *Tri-Puthiri*. When His Holiness entered the *Sanctum Sanctorum* to offer his *Pūja*, he‡ was astounded ; for the Lord was not there ! Great was his anxiety and he ran about here and there but could not see the Divine Presence anywhere in the temple precincts. He instituted inquiries and then heard of the festive celebrations of the previous day. He ran to the fields lying to the south of the Temple, and lo ! there he found the Lord easing Himself. The Lord evidently was suffering from diarrhœa, for too much was offered Him the previous day. His Holiness supported the Lord back to the temple and then with all the anxiety and solicitude of a loving father, he prepared a medical potion and offered it to the Lord. After this he watched over the Lord for sometime and, when he was satisfied, announced to the eager spectators that the Lord was all right. Alas for us, those blissful days are irrevocably lost, and why ? We are devoid of faith and devotion.

Well, His Holiness, then, ordered that the same medical potion must be administered to the Lord in the form of a *Nivēdya* on the day following

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* *Mukkuli* is a medical preparation generally prescribed by Indian physicians for dysentery.

† *Tri-Puthiri*. The term is composed of three words *Tri* and *Puthiru* and *Ari*. *Tri* is symbolic of *Sacredness*. The second term means new and *Ari*, rice. It therefore, signifies the *offering of new rice*, *i.e.*, the first offering in the year of the rice prepared from the new crop after the monsoon harvest. On the day previous to this, there is brought to the temple the new produce from all the temple lands. The *Nivēdyams*, *i.e.*, rice offerings from the next day forwards are prepared from the new harvest yield. The Tri-puthiri is a day held sacred by the people of the locality.

‡ His Holiness *Vilva Mangalath Swamiyar* was one of the greatest of Bhaktas. As a result of his prayer and devotion he was able to see God face to face, as we see ourselves. Blessed be his name ! He has left his name connected with every big temple in Kerala. We shall take up his stories later on.

Tri-Puthiri. The secret of the medicine was entrusted to *Trippanam Kōt Musad*, one of the eight traditional families of physicians in Kerala. The physician arrives at the temple on the day of *Tri-Puthiri*. When the night offerings are over and the gates about to be closed, he will put a few seeds in a small opening, one foot square, in the granite paved *Tirumittam*—sacred courtyard, and cover it with a big vessel. Early the next morning he comes before all others, collects the tender sprouts that miraculously shoots up in the night and makes the medicine out of this. This is offered to the God, the first offering of the day.

This system continued for a long time. Then came the age of degenerate faith. One of the temple servants, a *Muthat** became curious to know how the seeds planted one night would shoot up the next morning. Accordingly he hid himself in the temple and no sooner had the gate closed upon all of them there came some divine agents and planted the sprouts. The fellow became terror-struck and he had not long to live. In the meanwhile the physician had a vision in which he was told that the miraculous shooting up of the plants would no more take place—the reason was that the faithless age has begun—and that he should himself therefore get the requisite herbs for the preparation of the medicine. This is how it is prepared now.

To partake of this medical offering is very efficacious and many of the members of the Cochin Royal Family fast far into noon so that they may take this. Very early in the morning the *Mukkudi Nivēdyam* is over and then it is despatched post-haste to Tripponithura, where the princes reside. It may in passing be noted that this Mukkudi is heard to be efficacious in curing dysentery. It may also be remarked that the produce of the fields where the Divine Lord was seen to ease himself is not allowed to be utilized for the *Nivēdyams* in the temple.

XIV

Another interesting legend connected with this God runs thus: One rich pious devotee made a costly offering to the God in a shape of a garland of lotus flowers made of gold, with the direction that it must always be left on the idol. Accordingly it was not removed from the divine idol when the people retired at night. When the priest came the next morning, the garland was nowhere to be seen. They were in great fear and tremblingly approached the *Tachudaya Kaimal*. He set their fears at rest, for he had a vision at night when he was told that the God did not like to use garlands once used and so had given it to the Goddess enshrined in the temple at *Urakam*, a village six miles to the north of Irinjalakuda. In the meanwhile

* The *Muthat* is the Senior sect among Ambalavasis. While *Moosad* is only a special title given to the Namboodiris belonging to the families of traditional physicians.

the temple authorities at *Urakam* were struck dumb with surprise to behold a *golden lotus wreath* adorning the idol that morning. Before long the information about the garland was exchanged and the *faithful* in both the localities saw in this the manifestation of the Divine Presence once more.

Tradition hath it that this Goddess is the wife of God Bharatha enshrined at Irinjalakuda. This might be the result of His partiality towards her. The full name of the Goddess at Urakam is *Urothammathiridi*. This may be interpreted thus: *Uroth i.e., Urakam; Amma i.e.*, Goddess: and *thiridi i.e.*, stole: or in other words "*the Goddess at Urakam who stole.*" If this is the meaning of the term—and we cannot see anything else in it—then this title is a happy corroboration of the *Incident of the Golden lotus wreath.*

XV

It is held that Sri Rama who is established at Triparayar and who is the brother of Bharatha has a right to all the excess property of this temple. This right exists especially as regards the number of elephants. *Bharatha* is not allowed to keep more than ten elephants. If it ever happens that he has more than this number, the excess number has to be given over as a present to Sri Rama. In case these are not given, it is held that these will die. Curiously enough this traditional convention has been verified very recently. Gifts from various devotees raised the number of elephants above ten; but the authorities refused to hand over the excess number to the temple at *Triparayar*. In a couple of years the elephants quickly died out one by one and now there are left but three or four.

XVI

Even this temple did not escape the ruthless hands of Tippu. He encamped about two miles off from the town at the village, named *Māprāṇam*. He made an inroad into the temple and set fire to it, using straw and sulphur to hasten and complete the work of destruction. The conqueror's hatred of the Maharaja of Travancore was an incentive to complete the devastation, for he knew His Highness was one of the temple owners. This, however, was a blessing in disguise, for this led to the rising up of the majestic edifice that now adorns the temple precincts.

XVII

There is another firmly believed tradition which says that *Sri Bharatha* does not tolerate any other divine presence within the sacred precincts. Consistent with this belief is the rather curious absence of the shrine of *Ganapathy* anywhere in the temple, a deity who is invariably present in all temples almost everywhere. Still more curious it is that nowhere within the boundaries does the *Tulasi plant* grow, even though any number of garlands made of its leaves, are thrown out into the *Mathilakam*, *i.e.* the temple yard.

It is further supposed that the God is so intently wrapt in *Samadhi* that he does not like to be disturbed by any kind of noise. And wonder of wonders, there has not been found any frog in the sacred *Thirtha*; nor is ever heard any croaking of a frog. A large pool of water and still no frog, is it not curious?

XVIII

I shall now close this series with the mention of some of the conventions of the temple.

(1) As in the case of His temporal Deputy, the procession of the God will never pass through grounds other than His own.

(2) Whenever the sacred idol is taken out, and this is done only during the time of the annual festival, there must at least be three elephants, one to carry the idol, and the two to stand on either side: and in front of the elephant that carries the idols there will be held *twelve* big lamps, each one by a male member representative of the twelve Ambalavasi families in the locality.

(3) All the sacred vessels and utensils are of silver or gold. It is a rule that gilt things are not to be used there; why even the trappings for the elephants during festivals have to be made of gold or silver.

(4) All and every kind of flower cannot be used in the temple. Only two kinds of flowers, the well-known *lotus* and the *chetti* and the leaves of the *Tulasi* plant are used in the temple.

(5) Mlechchas, or non-Hindus, are not allowed to witness the sacred shrine even when it is taken out. Such people are generally kept out of the path of the procession. Divine punishments are, it is said, meted out to such as violate this rule, and many stories are told of such visitations of divine displeasure.

NOTES.

Ko Chen Kannan Chola.

BY K. G. SESHA AIYAR, B.A., B.L., M.R.A.S.

AMONG the ancient Chola kings, of whom history does not speak with authentic voice, but whose praises are sung by Tamil bards of antiquity, Ko Chen Kannan is one of the most famous. According to tradition, the eyes of this king were found at his birth to have a reddish hue, and, to that circumstance, it is said, he owed his name. Another explanation for the name is that the expression *Chen Kannan* is eliptical, and in its expanded form it means 'he whose eyes are like the red lotus.' The expression *Chen Kan Mal*, which literally means 'the red-eyed Vishnu,' is not unknown in Tamil literature; and there can be no doubt that in relation to Vishnu, *Chen Kan* denotes really *Chentamarai Kan*, eye resembling the red lotus. Whatever may be the origin of the name of this Chola king, it is the only name by which he is known in Tamil literature; and it is said that his royal mother, who died immediately after she had given him birth, predicted that he would become an emperor among kings. There is ample warrant afforded by the writings of the ancient Tamil poets for holding that this alleged prophecy was fulfilled: for we find it stated that he was the victor in several battle-fields and he succeeded in subjugating the Chera and the Pandya, besides rulers of lesser note in South India. Thus Sundaramurti Nayanar, one of the Devaram hymnists, refers to him as *Teanavanāi Ulakānda Chen Kannan*; and Tirumangai Mannan, one of the Vaishnava Azhwars also refers to him in similar terms (*Ulakanda tennādan Kuda Kongan Chōzhan*). He won a signal victory over the Kuramba Vilantai Vē; and at Azhuntai he defeated the united armies of the Pandya and other kings who had allied themselves to resist him (*Periya Tiru Mozhi VI*, 6). He won a great victory at Kazhumalam (Shiyali); and there is reason to believe that it was in that battle that he took the Chera King Kanai-Kal-Irumporai, prisoner (*Kalavazhi Narpatu*). The victory over this Chera called forth from Poigaiyar the well-known poem called *Kalavazhi Narpatu* in praise of Chen Kannan. Poigaiyar appears to have been the court-poet of the Cheras, who ruled at Tondi, the Tyndis of the Greek geographers, as is seen from his two lyrics in the *Pura Nanuru*. Seeing that the Chera, who was himself a great poet besides being also a patron of literature, had been taken captive by Chen Kannan, Poigaiyar earnestly pleaded for his release by singing *Kalavazhi* in honor of the victorious Chola: and the latter in appreciation of the poet's pleading, at once ordered the release of his foe. The Chera, however, so keenly felt his defeat, that he thought that to live thereafter was to lead a life more ignominious and contemptible than that of a dog: and he, therefore, committed suicide, by declining to quench a consuming thirst with water which the charity of

his enemy alone could supply. This fact is recorded in a lyric of the highest pathos, which the proud Chera wrote just before his death, and which forms No. 74 of the *Pura Nanuru* collection.

Ko Chen Kannan was not only a monarch of high prowess who conquered kingdoms, but he was also a patron of arts and literature. He won undying glory by building and endowing temples; and that he was no narrow sectarian is conclusively proved by the fact that his devotion is praised by both Saiva and Vaishnava hymnists. He is one of the 63 Saiva saints that Sundaramurti mentions by name in his *Tiru-Tonda-Togai*. Tirumangai Azhwar tells us that he built seventy temples in honor of Siva, and ultimately became an ardent devotee of Vishnu, whom he constantly worshipped at the temple at Tiru Naraiyur. (*Periya Tiru Mozhi*, VI, 6.) Obviously this great Chola who did not think that all honour lay only in the field of battle, but found the glory of his life in walking humbly with God, exercised considerable influence on contemporary life and history, and was regarded by the people of the land, which during his reign seems to have flowed with milk and honey, as a model monarch.

When did Ko Chen Kannan live? Dr. Hultsch, whose contribution to the elucidation of the problems of South Indian history cannot be too highly valued, thinks that Ko Chen Kannan must have lived long before the dynastic Cholas that epigraphy has brought to light. He thinks that even at the time of the earliest of the Cholas known to the epigraphist, Chen Kannan must have been only a name, and it is not possible to ascertain his date even approximately. If, however, from the materials that are available we cannot say with certainty when he lived, we can with their help state when he could not have lived. From the literary references already made, it may be concluded that he lived anterior to the days of Sundara and Tirumangai Azhwar. Sundara is now assigned to the 8th or 9th century of the Christian era; and though I have doubted the Vairamegha theory of the date of Tirumangai, yet even according to Vaishnava tradition the Azhwar was not anterior to the Saiva saint, Tirugnana Sambhandar, who is held to have lived in the 7th century after Christ. Now, both Appar and Gnana Sambandhar make references to Ko Chen Kannan and the latter even by name in his *Ambar-perum-tiru-koil-padigam* (3rd Tiru-murai) and his *Arisil-Karai-tiru-puttur padigam* (2nd Tirumurai). By their time, a hoary legend had been woven about the name of the Chola monarch; and the very character of the legend suggests the long antecedency in time of Chen Kannan to the Devaram hymnists (Vide *Arisil-Karai-tiru-puttur padigam* in 2nd Tirumurai and *Tiru Alavai* and *Tiru Chaikkad padigams* in 4th Tiru Murai). The legend that had become so consecrated in the land as to deserve being enshrined in the Devaram hymns of the Saiva saints is that Chen Kannan was born a king as the reward for meritorious acts of extreme piety which in a previous birth as a spider he had done in the glorification of Siva. An ancient halo of sanctity had gathered round his name in the days of Appar and Gnana Sambandhar; and it will not, therefore, be amiss to separate by a few centuries those hymnists from the Chola king whose legendary story they relate with such reverential devotion in their lyrics. It is noteworthy that, in his *Tiru-Chaikkad*

Padigam, Appar groups him with Mārkandēya, Arjuna, Chandēswara, Bhagirata and Kannappa, devotees of the dim, misty, pre-historic past, whom the Puranas say the Lord blessed with His supreme gift of grace; and perhaps this will indicate the long distance of time that may be taken to intervene between Chen Kannan and Appar, who is an elder contemporary of Gnana Sambandhar.

There are other references in Tamil literature which help us somewhat in tackling this problem. The well-known *Kalingattu-Parani* of Jayam-kondan has a canto which attempts to give the genealogy of the Cholas. After dealing in the opening verses of canto VIII, with the mythological ancestors of the Cholas, the poet mentions a Chola who helped the Pandavas in the Mahabharata war, after whom is mentioned the Chola who ventured into the country of the Nagas and married their princess. Next is mentioned Chen Kannan, and then the well-known Karikala Chola. If this account be accepted as authentic or even as of some historic value, then Chen Kannan was an ancestor of Karikala. Karikala, the great Chola monarch who had his capital at Puhar, shortly preceded Sen-Kuttuvan, the Chera King, whose greatness is sung by Elan-Ko-Adigal in *Silappadigāram*. I have elsewhere attempted to show that Sen-Kuttuvan lived in the 2nd century of the Christian era. We should then seek for Karikala about the close of the first or the beginning of the 2nd century; (*vide* also the age of Paranar in Prof. Krishnaswami Iyengar's Beginnings of South Indian History) and if so Chen Kannan must be sought in or before the first century. The father of Karikala was Ilam Chey Chenni (vide *Porunar Arrupadai*) and his immediate predecessor was Peruviralkilli, between whom and the Chera Nedumcheraladan a fierce battle appears to have been fought, at which, it is recorded, both kings fell (vide *Pura Nanuru* Nos. 62, 63, 368). Between Sen-Kuttuvan and Nedumcheraladan a century intervenes, as can be seen from *Padirru-pattu*; and so if Chen Kannan was really an ancestor of Karikala, he must have ruled even before the days of Peruviralkilli, and his contemporary, Nedumcheraladan, and this may point to a date antecedent to even the Christian era as the time when Chen Kannan flourished. However, there is room for doubt whether Jayamkondan has not wrongly placed before Karikala, the Chola who is said to have married a Naga Princess. It is clear from *Manimekhalai* that it was Nedumudikilli, the son of Karikala, that effected the alliance with the Naga princess; and, if so, Chen Kannan who is mentioned after that Chola must have succeeded Karikala at some distance of time.* In that view, Chen Kannan may, perhaps, be placed in the third century.

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* This surmise of Mr. K. G. Sesha Aiyar is corroborated by the genealogy of the Chola monarchs given in the Tiruvalangadu Plates of Rajendra Chola I. (*vide* Director-General's Archæological Survey Report of India for 1903-04, pp. 233—5, Madras Epigraphical Report for 1916, Part II, paragraphs 11 to 20 and South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. III, Part III (1920), pp. 383 to 438).

The relevant verse is translated as follows by Rao Saheb H. Krishna Sastry :—

" v. 43. In the family of that (king Karikala Chola, who is referred to in v. 42) of extensive glory, was born the Emperor Kochchengannan who bore on his arm the earth (extending) as far as the Lokāloka mountain, whose tremulous eyes were as blue as the petal of the blue lily (and) the bondage of (whose) spider body was cut off by (his) devotion to Sambhu (*i.e.*, Siva) the conqueror of (the dēmon) Tripura." (Ed. Q.J.M.S.)

It has already been stated that Poigaiyar composed *Kalavazhi* in honor of Chen Kannan and secured the release of the Chera Kanai-kal-Irumporai. Poigaiyar is one of the earliest of the Vaishnava Azhwars. In a learned paper which Pandit M. Raghava Aiyangar contributed to *Sen Tamil* some years ago (*Sen Tamil*, I 264) he has shown that Poigaiyar and Karaikalammai were contemporaries. There are, however, no data from which we can gather the date of the devout Lady of Karaikal. *Karaikalpey*, (the demoness of Karaikal) which is another name by which she is known, and the legendary lore that the Saivas cherish in connection with her, would suggest that she was, like Kannappar, a Dravidian devotee of antiquity whose time was probably in the early days of the Aryanization of South Indian religion, when the pre-aryan demon worship of the South was attempted to be reconciled with the Aryan Saiva worship. The learned Pandit has also shown that Poigaiyar refers to Tiraiyan and Nedumantēr-killi ; and this reference may, perhaps, prove useful hereafter in deciding the approximate date of Chen Kannan. With our present knowledge, and from the materials now available, we may, it seems to me, place Ko Chen Kannan somewhere in or about the early centuries of the Christian era, perhaps not later than the 3rd century, and possibly much earlier.

A Buddhist Image from Nepal.

In February last an inscribed metallic image in the possession of Monsieur Clemenceau, who was then in Mysore, was sent to me by direction of His Highness the Maharaja for examination and decipherment of the inscription. I give below a short note on the image and its inscription which, I hope, will be of some interest to the readers of this Journal.

The Image.

The image is rather curious: it consists of two figures, a male and a female, seated opposite to, and embracing and kissing, each other. Both the figures are seated on a pedestal and encircled by a *prabhāvali* or glory. The male figure is about eight inches high and the female a little shorter. Both appear to hold a flower in one hand and what looks like a thunderbolt or a half thunderbolt in the other.

The Inscription.

The back of the pedestal bears an inscription in four lines in old Nāgari characters. The language of the inscription is Nēwāri, a monosyllabic language spoken by the original inhabitants of Nepal, as distinguished from the present Pāhāri, a Sanskritic language used by the Gurkha conquerors of Nepal. The inscription runs thus :—

Sam 637 Hāguna vadi 1.

Ōm Śri 3 Vajrasatva-pratimā Vajrāchāryā Sri Talaghrikradhana Mayajuni snutya-nāmana dayakājulō.

It states that on the first lunar day of the dark fortnight (vadi) of Phālguna (Hāguna) of the year 637 this image of Vajrasatva was presented by Talaghrikradhana, who was a Vajrāchārya.

Notes.

I shall add a few notes to make the meaning of the inscription clear.

Śri 3 means that *Śri* is to be repeated thrice, as an indication of the great honour in which the personage to whose name it is prefixed is held. *Dayakājulō* means that the gift is completed. The name of the donor, Talaghrikradhana, is in the third case-ending. The remaining two expressions, *Mayajuni* and *snutya-nāmana*, appear to be epithets of the donor.

The date.—The date 637 is given in the Nepalese era which began in A.D. 880. It therefore corresponds to A.D. 1517. The image is thus a little over 400 years old.

Vajrasatva.—We are told that the image represents Vajrasatva. In the Vajrayāna School of Buddhism which came immediately after the Mahāyāna School, Vajrasatva is the Buddha. He is regarded as the sixth Dhyāni Buddha, the priest of the five Dhyāni-Buddhas, *viz.*, Vajra-Vairochana, Akshobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha and Amoghasiddha. He very often bears a thunderbolt or a half thunderbolt. When not alone, he is in the company of the Dhyāni-Buddhas, and is often identified with the first of them, namely, Vajra-Vairochana. When alone, he is generally represented with his *Sakti* whose name in Tibet is "Overpowering the Thunder", perhaps a translation of Vajra-Vairochani. In Nepal, however, she is called Vajrasatvātmikā, and the two are represented in union, as in the present case. The two in union are often called Sambara and are worshipped in secret where the uninitiated are not allowed to enter.

Vajrāchārya.—The inscription tells us that the donor of the image was a Vajrāchārya. In Nepal the son of a Buddhist priest gets his initiation as a *Bhikshu* in the fifth year of his age; but at the age of seventeen, if he is not married, he is given a second initiation and is called a Vajrāchārya. On this initiation he gets the privilege of worshipping and pouring ghee in a *homa* and of holding a *vajra* or thunderbolt.* R. A. N.

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*I have to express my indebtedness to Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasada Sastri, M.A., of Calcutta for kind help in the decipherment of this inscription.

CORRESPONDENCE.

To

THE EDITOR, THE QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF THE MYTHIC SOCIETY.

Satiyaputras of Asoka's Edict No. 2.

Dear Sir,

Among the several countries for which Buddhist missionaries were sent, Asoka mentions Chôlas, Pandyas, Satiyaputras and Kêraḷaputras. We all know that Chôḻas, Panḍyas and Kêraḷaputras are the three ancient kingdoms of the Tamil land and the Satiyaputras is not yet identified finally. The several theories relating to the identifications have been discussed by K. G. Shankara in this Journal and he finally identifies them with the Pallavas; but with no basis.

This hopeless difference of opinion is due to the fact that much of what goes for the early history of India is an almost inextricable tangle of proved facts and wild guesses.

Since Satiyaputras is mentioned among the kingdoms of the Tamil land it should be one of them. Asoka mentions them in order from North to South—on the east coast Chôḻas and Panḍyas and on the west coast Satiyaputras and Kêraḷaputras. We know that the Chôlas and Panḍyas occupied the districts of Tanjore and Trichinopoly with Uraiyûr and Kâvêripûmpattinam as capitals and the districts of Madura and Tinnevelly with Madura as capital respectively. But as for the capital of the Chêras there are two different opinions—one headed by R. Râghavaiyangâr says that it is Karûr of the present Trichinopoly district and the other headed by K. S. Srinivâsa Pillay and S. Bhârati says that it is Cranganore (Kodungôlûr).

We know that the Chêra capital is on the banks of the river Porunai.[1] It was also called as river Kâñchi, Ânporunai and Pêriyâṛu[2] and is identified with

1 நெடிதே
வஞ்சிப்புறமதிலவலக்கும்
கல்லென்பொருகைமணினும் (புறம் 387)

2 Kâñchi is described by Paranar as follows:—
சின்மலைப்பிறந்து சின்கடன்மண்டும்
மலிபுனனிகழ்தருந்தீநீர்விழவிற்
பொழில்வதிவேனிற் பேரெழில் வாழ்க்கை
மேவருசுற்றமோடுண்டினிதுறுகதுக்
தீம்புனலாயமாடுங்
காஞ்சியம்பெருந்துறைமணலினும்பலவே" (பதிற்று 48)

Periyâru is described by Paranar and Pâlai Kauthamanâr respectively as follows:—
"இரும்பணைதிரங்கப்பெரும்பெயலொளிப்பக்
குன்றுவறங்கூரச்சுடர்சினக்திகழ
வருவியற்றபெருவற்றகாவையு

the present Periyar.[3] Again in Periyapuranam it is said that the Chêra capital is Koḍuṅgôlûr.[4]

Thus we see that the Chêra kingdom occupied the present states of Travancore, Cochin and some portion of Malabar with Koḍuṅgôlûr (Cranganore) as its Capital. The country lying north of this was ruled by some Vêlirs (Petty chieftains) and a little to the west the land was occupied by Kongus. That the Kongus occupied the interior of the land is justified by Śilappadikâram[5] and the boundaries of the Kongunâḍu are as follows:—In the north Thalamalai (in the Satyamangalam Taluk of the Coimbatore district near the boundary of the Mysore State), in the south Vaihâvâr (in Palani Hills), in the east Kuḷitalai (in the Trichinopoly district), and in the west the Western Ghats.[6] The Kongunâḍu was governed by a line of kings named Kôśar and they are often mentioned in Tamil Classical Literature. They are famous for their *Satya*. In Ahan they are often mentioned as

'ஒன்று மொழிக்கோசர்" (196)
வாய்மொழி கிலைய சென்னிளஞ்சே ரல்லிசை
வளங்கெழுகோசர் விளங்கு படைமுறை" (205), etc.

மருஞ்செவற்போர்ப்பிருந்கரையு மடர்ந்துச்
சுடிபோழ்ப்பேர்க்கோக்கினையமைய" —புறநிற்று 43.
"விரிநிலக்கரம்பைபிடவன்னியர்
கோடைநீடுக்குன்றமும்பெலை
வருவிபற்றபெருவறற்காலையு
சீவர்துணைவிழிசகுனஞ்சலப்போபாற்றச்
சீருடையியன்புலம்நாய்பாரக்துமிழ்ப்
உவலைதடியுதித்தவருமையிர்சினைச்
செல்சீர்ப்பூசலல்லது
வெம்மையரிதின்னகன்றவைகாடே" *Ibid.* 28

Porunai is described by Nakiṙar as follows:—

சோணை
திருமாவியனகர்க்குதவுர்முன் றுணைந்
தென்னீருயர்கரைக்குவைஇய
தண்ணன்பொருகமனிவிலும் பலவே". (நெய் 93)

They all bring in the same *lakshana* that it will be in full floods even in hot summer when all the other rivers are dried.

3 "சின்மலை பிறக்து நின்டன் மண்டும்"
(Quoted above —பதிற்று—48)

4 மாவீற்றிருந்த பெருஞ்சிறப்பின் மன்னுகொன்னை மலைகாட்டும்
பாவீற்றிருந்த புகழார் பயிலுமியல் பிற்பழம் பதிதான்
சேவீற்றிருந்தார் திருவஞ்சைக்களமிலவிச் சேரர்குலக்
கோவீற்றிருந்து முறைபுரிந்து குலக்கோமுதார்கொடிங்கோவூர். (சுறறி—செ 1).

5 'சொங்கிளங்கோசர் தங்கள் நாட்டு அகத்து". (பதிகம்)

6 "வடக்குத்தலைமலைபாம் வையாளர் செற்குக்
குடக்குப்பொருப்பு வெள்ளிக்குன்றம் —கிடக்கும்
கனிக்தண்டலை மோதங் காவிரிகுற்காட்டுக்
குனிக்தீண்டலையாவு கொங்கு".

Again *Aham* 265 has a reference to a story in which a Kôśar left excused a man who committed a serious crime for speaking the truth. Thus we see that they not only speak the truth; but also have a high regard for *Satya*. The Kôśars of Kongu are also of sufficient importance in the history of Tamiḻaham to deserve special mention in the inscription of Asoka. Thus I identify the Satiyaputras with the Kôśars of Kongunâdu.

Yours truly,

31, Kamakshi Josier Street,
KUMBHAKONAM.

T. N. SUBRAMANIAM.

REVIEWS.

Djawa, the quarterly journal of the "Java-institute".

I have here before me three numbers of the Quarterly Journal of the "Java-institute", a society started in Java to promote the development of the ancient culture of Java, Madura, and Bali. This, the society is doing, according to the statutes, by collecting and publishing the knowledge of Javanese culture from the past as well as from the present, by means of congresses, exhibitions, lectures, courses, prize-essays and by supporting all attempts of others to do so.

The magazine is beautifully got up, in clear print, and the text is accompanied by fine illustrations.

One of the numbers deals exclusively with the possibilities of development of music in Java, which was the subject of the last congress, held in Bandoeng during the month of June 1921. One of the articles, written by a Javanese nobleman, deals with the Gamelang, the Javanese orchestra, which consists of 27 different instruments, and the origin of which, according to the Javanese tradition, is derived from the Deva-Kingdom, "Kadewatan". The tones of those very ancient gamelangs were in the number of three, "in accordance", to quote the author, "to the Trimoerti"; or "to be pronounced as" *n*. This shows to the reader that there are many traces yet to be found in those islands of an ancient Hindu civilization, just as well as of a later Buddhist civilization... At present the gamelang consists of seven tones, which however are different to those in Western music.

Many of the instruments of a gamelang are prepared of an alloy of three metals and sometimes after 50 years, sometimes after a 30 years and in the lighter weights after a 5 or 10 years use of the instrument can one only judge of the purity of the sound. It can thus be imagined that only princes are able to possess a fully equipped gamelang of pure tone, and that such a gamelang is considered a precious heir-loom in those old families.

It was during the congress fully discussed which steps should be taken in order to preserve the wonderful music produced by the gamelang; the conclusions arrived at can be summed up as follows:—

I. Schools of music should be established, where the playing of the different instruments of the gamelang should be taught by Javanese masters on the respective instruments.

II. In order to preserve the peculiar national character of the music, it was considered undesirable to send pupils to the West, as in that way the oriental character of the music might get lost.

III. It was considered to be desirable to lay down in a simple and clear notation the music played by well-known and famous players at the courts of the Sultans of Djokjakarta, and Soerakarta.

IV. Financial support should be given to those people who are able to do this and those who have made a beginning of this work should be encouraged.

Is there no one to start this ball-rolling here in India?

The other two numbers contain several interesting articles, each of which would deserve the space, occupied by this review. Some deal with customs and habits of different parts of Java, others with the remnants of the ancient Hindu civilization, in the shape of temples and images, found in the jungle and swamps also of the Southern part of the island Sumatra, which at one time was connected with Java.

I will mention here only one, as that is sure to interest Indian readers. In the Javanese drama stories from the Mahabharata are enacted, and the author of one of the articles in "Djawa" has taken the trouble to compare the story of the Pandava's as given by the Mahabharata, and as it is played at the present day in the Javanese "Wajang". This is not the only example of the influence of the old Hindu civilization in the Javanese drama, and it must be fascinating to extend a similar treatment and study to other dramas there. The same number contains a plan for a permanent building for the "Wajang". At present such performances are often given in the most primitive buildings possible, in fact more often than not in sheds.

I will end this too short review by mentioning that the Committee in the hands of which is entrusted the editing of the magazine, consists of two Javanese members, and three Dutchmen, which show that the Javanese race has awakened already to the importance of the work which can be achieved by a magazine like this. At present the magazine is edited in the Dutch language only, but the intention is to change that policy as soon as a sufficient number of Javanese is becoming interested in the work of the Association.

E. LOURENSZ.

The Origin and Ethnological Significance of Indian Boat Designs.

MEMOIRS OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL.

THIS forms one of the memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and is by Mr. Hornell, Director of Fisheries, Madras Government. It is a very important contribution to the study of ancient Indian History and Ethnology, and takes high rank among studies of a similar character on account of its thoroughness and comprehensiveness. Mr. Hornell discusses in the first part the boat types now existing in various parts of India, indicating in the course of his discussion the designs that are indigenous and those that are the products of foreign influence. In this particular section, Mr. Hornell has made full use of his experience which his official position enabled him to gain in respect of these boat designs. He takes every one of the types that exist now, describes each clearly and indicates the features peculiar to it, so as to show how the needs of the locality are met by the peculiarities of boat designs current there. This part of his work is excellent and makes the very best

contribution to the study of the question of Indian nautical enterprise from boat survivals.

In part II he takes up the question of the knowledge we possess of the ancient sea trade with India. It deals respectively with Egypt, the Jews, the Phoenicians, and the Persians; then the Greeks and the Romans, and finally the Chinese. He expresses the opinion that in all probability early Egyptian trade was rather with Somaliland than with India. He expresses his views in regard to Punt being in India in the following sentence of his: "But the products brought back, gold, ivory, ebony, myrrh, dog-headed apes, leopard skins and incense trees, while in the main Indian as well as African, in the inclusion of dog-headed apes and incense trees, both distinctive of Somaliland and South Arabia, and in the omission of spices, pearls, diamonds, teak-wood and pea-cocks, some of which would certainly have been found in return cargoes from India, force one reluctantly to the conclusion that South Arabia or the neighbouring African coast was the utmost limit of this ancient sea traffic. In regard to Phoenicia and places in the West Coast of Asia, Mr. Hornell does not believe that the Phoenicians carried on any habitual trade with India except on occasions like those of Solomon's expedition. The exploration conducted by Darius through Skylax of Karyanda marks a stage in the progress of systematic navigation, and according to Herodotus, Darius made use of the sea in these parts. The conquest by Alexander of Persia made a further advance and his policy of exploring the sea for purposes of commerce was carried on further by the Ptolemies of Egypt, the second of whom was responsible for opening communications between the Nile and the Red Sea. When Rome succeeded to Greece in Egypt, Roman commerce with India went up by leaps and bounds in the first two centuries of the Christian era. But even so there were no systematic voyages of Indians to the West, or for the matter of that even of the Western people to India except along the coast and for this commerce Arabia formed the exchange mart. The Greek historian, Agatharchides, early in the 2nd century B.C., ascribes the importance of Sabaea to her monopoly of Indian trade. "He states having seen large vessels from 'Potana' (Patala) on the Indus and makes mention of the great number of Indian merchants who resorted to Sabian parts to sell and barter their goods to the Sabians who in turn sold them to the Egyptians and the Greeks." It seems certain also that in the prosecution of their trade the Indian and Arab shipmasters made use of the Monsoon winds to steer directly from and to India, knowledge of which, we may be sure, was absolutely guarded as that of the Cape route to India by the Portuguese."

The advent of Alexander gave a special stimulus to commerce, and Greek commerce became dominant. This growth of commerce underwent another expansion under the Romans. Mr. Hornell is of opinion that the Greek-owned argosies of the Greek and Roman period of commerce were manned in great bulk by the Arabs, a position which seems to find support in what is available by way of Indian evidence regarding the Yavanas, particularly South Indian. Chinese trade comes into view only after the close of the period of Roman commerce, *i.e.* about A.D. 300. When we get to the period of the first Arab narrative regarding

Chinese trade, we find Chinese goods selling in the markets of Basra and Bagdad. The trade in these commodities seems to have been carried on in Chinese bottoms, particularly during the period from the 9th to the 15th century according to Mr. Hornell. While this may be true of the latter half of this period supported by the information supplied by Marco-Polo, it is difficult to be so positive about the earlier half, when there were other sea-going powers who must have shared the trade with the Chinese. The ascendency of Srí Bhoja in Sumatra and the dominance of the Chola power, while either of these prevented Chinese monopoly, Chinese trading ships seem to have had a considerable share in that trade. It is the special character of the Coromandel coast as the meeting place between the Arab shipping on the one side and the Chinese on the other that gave the occasion for the Arabic name 'Malabar' meaning a landing place to that coast among the earlier Arab writers.

In the latter part of this period in all probability, the Chinese shipping provided for the carrying trade was getting gradually pushed back, and when the struggle for monopoly of this carrying trade between the Arabs and the Chinese waxed and waned, Indian shipping seems to have been elbowed out. In regard to this latter period particularly, Mr. Hornell points out that Prof. Mukherji is in error in taking ships engaged in Indian trade to be Indian bottoms. He is of opinion that they were Chinese bottoms specially constructed for the Indian trade. It is this dominance of Chinese trade in the 14th and 15th centuries that perhaps was directly responsible for the neglect of the navy by the rulers of Vijayanagar, following the traditions of their predecessors on the Coromandel coast, the Pandyas. It is this neglect of the navy and the mercantile marine by Vijayanagar that left the way open for European enterprise which came in at a period when the establishment of the Arab dominance for the sea was about being realized.

In part III Mr. Hornell takes up the question of the part played by Indian ships in the sea trade and quotes the well-known Sanskrit and Pali texts for the conclusion that the Indian sea-going craft did play a considerable part even in western trade, particularly with the Persian Gulf and Babylonia. He ascribes this trade to at least the sixth century B.C. and admits that the trade is possibly a good deal older. He considers that the trade continued during the Achaemenid times as articles of Indian workmanship were found, among them Indian conch, in the ruins of Susa. There are possibilities of this trade having been much older than the fifth century B.C. to which these excavations would relate. He notes again the reference in Agatharchides and quotes for the 2nd century B.C. Eudoxes who gives the most direct evidence of Indian navigation across the Arabian Sea. From references in the Periplus to the trade between India and Arabia Mr. Hornell is inclined to take it that the mariners were chiefly Arabs while Indians figured there as merchants only. This seems a likely enough conclusion and perhaps at the time was actually the case. But the evidence is hardly enough to make a firm negative against the possibility that this mercantile marine was composed of Indians. The prevalence of piracy along the west coast which continued all the time from the commencement of the Christian era down to the days of Marco-Polo and beyond

presupposes trading ships as in the words of Mr. Hornell "pirates presupposed trading ships, and people building and operating pirate vessels must be credited with at least sufficient skill to build trade ships on the same coast; hence, we may infer apart from other evidence leading to an identical conclusion that from the time when the Greek trading fleets appeared in eastern waters until the present day, a great part of the coastwise traffic of India has been carried on in Indian bottoms—almost exclusively prior to the seventh century; since then more or less shared by Arab built or owned vessels." These inferences of Mr. Hornell are only confirmed when, from the side of India we get evidence of a successful naval engagement against the Yavanas of the west. In regard to the trade of India on the eastern seas Mr. Hornell is inclined to take it that Indians had a far greater share in this trade—in fact the monopoly of it in the early stages till after the fifth or sixth century the Persians and the Arabs began to come in for a share as well as the Chinese somewhat earlier. It is hardly necessary to deal with these in detail in a review of Mr. Hornell's valuable paper as in the same issue of the Journal of the Mythic Society appears a presentation of the same question from the Indian side.

In the last part he discusses the particular classes of vessels employed by the Indians in ancient days prior to the advent of the Portuguese. He seems to be inclined to the view that the first Indian colonists sailed in Andhra sea-going ships "Square-rigged, two-masted, vessels, with raked stem, and stern, both sharp, without bowsprit and rudder, and steered by two quarter paddles." It is possible as later development that out-rigger boats such as those figured in Boro-Budur were called into requisition. These ships showed the peculiar feature of compound masts and out-rigger. From this peculiarity Mr. Hornell is inclined to infer that the sea-going population of India, particularly of the South, may have had a Malay origin. The Tamil word for ship 'Kappal' is the same as the Malay 'Kapal'. So Mr. Hornell arrives at the final conclusion "that till quite recent times all the evidence available points to Polynesian influence being the only outside one that affected the Indian sea-craft to any appreciable and permanent extent prior to the sixteenth century, excepting always the Katamaran, whereof the final origin is to be sought in the reed rafts of Egypt and Chaldea".

We shall close this rather long review by expressing our admiration of the thorough-going way in which Mr. Hornell has conducted his enquiry; and the convincing manner in which he has couched the results of his investigations in the memoir before us. We commend it as a thorough-going study to those that may be interested in Indian antiquities. It is a very interesting subject and is presented to the reader with the finished skill of a master craftsman.

S.K.

Journal of the Department of Letters, Etc., Calcutta University.

WE have received with pleasure publications of the Calcutta University among which are included five volumes of the Journal of the Department of Letters. The Department of Post-Graduate teaching of this University, which has recently been coming in for a great deal of adverse criticism in certain quarters has, we venture to state, done on the whole commendable active work and has been responsible for stimulating a very considerable amount of research work. From the very nature of the case, the output of work is bound to produce a considerable division of scholarly opinion and criticism of the scholarly sort connected therewith should certainly be quite welcome. Unfortunately, however, the criticisms from certain quarters have not been of that kind. Research work, it might be remembered, may broadly be divided into two classes, the one following from the other in a natural sequence. It is, first of all, a thorough study of questions that may have already been studied and worked up by others with regard to the sources of information and with a view to any additional light that might possibly be thrown upon it. It will readily be remembered that the Saddler Committee thought that every University teacher ought to be able to do at least as much to make an efficient teacher of himself and to create among the University students that necessary intellectual curiosity which is essential to an atmosphere of research. Then follows the further stage, the search for new facts and the rehabilitation of old theories in the light of new facts as a natural consequence of the first. In any organic provision for research it would be difficult to separate the one from the other and it may be regarded as almost a necessity that one should follow the other. Some of the criticisms we have noticed of the publications of the Post-Graduate school of the Calcutta University seem not to take note of this fact. We have in mind in saying this the adverse criticisms made against some of the publications being translations from foreign languages, such as German and French. We fail to see the justice of the criticism. The first essential to research is a thorough knowledge of previous work which, in regard to the great majority of Indian students, involves acquaintance with the work of continental scholars, chiefly German and French. Having regard to the conditions under which research work could be conducted in this country, whether it be in Calcutta or elsewhere, the provision of good translations of these foreign works would seem to be an essential prerequisite to research work. Seeing particularly that works both in German and in French bearing upon Oriental research relating to languages and history, are written in such high class German and French that it requires great proficiency in those languages before one can presume to read them in original.

In regard to the other section which may be called original research it is of the nature of this kind of work, that there should be acute differences of opinion. The fact that such criticisms exist is symptomatic of the existence of that intellectual curiosity, which the educational experts constituting the Saddler Committee,

consider as essential to the welfare of higher University studies. We welcome the publications as a whole and shall notice individual publication as occasion offers. Sir Ashutosh Mukherji as the responsible author of the Post-Graduate School of Research and all that it involves, deserves the gratitude of his countrymen for having created at least one University centre in India where there exist facilities, or at least the facilities are in creation, for efficiently conducting research work in every branch of Indian culture.

It gives us the greatest pleasure in this connection to refer to the publication of the Sir Ashutosh Silver Jubilee Commemoration Volumes. As far as we have heard, these are to be seven volumes in all, five of which would be devoted to arts and letters and two to science. The whole work being intended to celebrate the Silver Jubilee of Sir Ashutosh Mukherji's connection with the Calcutta University. The volume before us contains about thirty contributions made by as many scholars engaged in various fields of research all over the country. It gives a clear indication of the work in the department of research that is being done in the different parts of the country. The existence of so much intellectual activity of the higher kind could hardly be seen except on occasions when a common platform like this offers the opportunity for bringing this work to public notice. We expect the other volumes to follow in quick succession and commend the enterprise as the most suitable method of showing the gratitude of the intellectuals of the country to the one man who stands out foremost in promoting the advance of the younger generation of Indians in fields of modern intellectual work.

S.K.

Talamana or Iconometry.*

By T. A. Gopinatha Rao, M.A.

This talented Travancore Archæologist whose early death some years back all students of Indian Antiquities so greatly deplore, has left behind him valuable notes culled from authoritative works on the Agamas—Brihat Samhita, and Sukraniti, concerning the measurements to be observed by sculptors in moulding or carving images of Gods, and goddesses, men, women and children, and other figures. The minute calculations, given in the tables of this volume, it is unnecessary for us to repeat here. But it is worthy of note that the major doctrines laid down in these old works tally with the dicta of modern European Art as regards beauty of form and delicacy of outline; for example, "a well-proportioned male figure is equal to eight times the length of the head; in other words is *ashṭa-tāla* in height; that of a female is seven and a half times that of the head, or *sardha-sapta-tala*. According to European artists the ear is said to extend from a line drawn across the side of the head in a level with the eyebrow, to another which is drawn on a level with the wing of the nose; or in the language of Indian artists, between the *bhru-sūtra* and the *nasa-puta-sūtra*."

* Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India, No. 3.

The volume is illustrated with images drawn to scale according to the measurements and with a *lambha-phalaka*, an instrument employed for measuring lengths along plumb-lines. The description of this instrument and of its use is interesting and worth reproduction. "It is a plank two *angulas* (roughly, one inch) in thickness and measuring 68 *angulas* in length and 24 in breadth. A small hole, just a little larger than a *yava* (⅛th to ¼th of an *angula*) in diameter, is bored in the centre of the margin along the length of the plank; this hole is meant for the *madhya-sūtra* (representing an imaginary line drawn vertically through the centre of the face and about which the body is bilaterally symmetrical). Other holes are bored (according to the directions given) for the other *sūtras*. Through these are suspended by strings which are one *yava* in thickness, small plummets of iron or clay." Elaborate rules follow as to the manner of using this *phalaka* in the case of a reclining figure and a sitting or standing figure.

The whole subject is interesting to a degree and is one worthy of more intense and comparative study. It would for example throw a flood of light on the essentials of excellence of particular schools of Indian Sculpture, if we compare how far the images of the superb Hoysalan style, and charming Ajanta frescoes conform strictly to the standard measurements and wherein they developed their distinctive individuality. How far do Ghandhara sculptures differ from the Chola school in respect of these measurements and to what extent are the variations accounted for by differences in the anthropometry of the respective races? When did these rules get to be codified and what was the effect of such a code on the development of Indian art? We hope these questions will be taken up by competent scholars at no distant date.

A.V.R.

Tile Mosaics of the Lahore Fort. *

By J. Ph. Vogel, Ph. D.

The sumptuously illustrated volume before us gives a complete set of reproductions of the tile mosaics decorating the west and north fronts of the fort wall in Lahore abutting the Imperial Palace. While tesselated bricks are a common mode of decoration on Moslem monuments in Northern India, the designs of the tile mosaics illustrated and described in this volume are unique in including representations of living beings. The Imperial Palace at Lahore outshines all other buildings also by the truly princely magnitude and variety of its colour decoration. The decorations cover in all a surface of about 8,000 square yards.

As is well known, the reproduction of living beings in art is prohibited by the tenets of the Moslem creed, the sacred tradition declaring that "those who make images shall suffer the heaviest punishment on the day of resurrection" and that "the angels of grace enter not into a dwelling wherein there are images." In fact

* Archæological Survey of India, New Imperial Series, Vol. XLI, with 80 plates. Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta. Price Rs. 55.

abhorrence of the making of images or effigies is ordained, as constituting the root of idolatry. But in the heyday of their prosperity, the Moghul Emperors, Akbar, Jehangir and Shah Jehan made light of the orthodox point of view. And though the bigot Aurangazebe set his face against such a violation of the sacred traditions —he is even credited with mutilating some sculptured panels in Fatehpur Sikhri— his iconoclastic zeal did not fortunately extend to these mosaics.

There is little doubt that this art reached India from Persia where it was widely prevalent and for long centuries. But the extent to which it was indebted to or influenced by Chinese porcelain art is not equally well ascertained. Emperor Babar says, for example, in his memoirs " In this garden (at Samarkand) there is another state pavilion, the walls of which are overlaid with porcelain of China, whence it is called the Chinese House. It is said that a person was sent to China for the purpose of bringing it. " A similar tradition existed in Moghul India also, and monuments decorated in this manner were not infrequently styled Chinese, *e. g.* " Chiniwali masjid " at Agra. The occurrence of dragons and of the so-called " Chinese clouds " in the mosaics point alike to Chinese influence.

The fort and the principal buildings of the Imperial Palace at Lahore were constructed during the reign of the Emperors Akbar, Jehangir and Shah Jehan. Two inscriptions, one of 1617-18 A.D. and the other of 1631-32 A.D. record the dates of completion of two important stages of these edifices. Their splendour and luxurious effect will be apparent from the following extract from Jehangir's Memoirs :—

" I alighted happily and auspiciously at the building recently brought to completion and finished handsomely by the exertions of Ma'mur Khan. Without exaggeration, charming residences and soul-stirring sitting places had been erected in great beauty and delicacy, adorned and embellished with paintings by rare artists. * * * . Altogether, there had been expended on these buildings the sum of Rs. 7,00,000. "

Along the whole length of the Palace wall there run two cornices at a height of 19 and 51 feet respectively from its foot. Each cornice is underlined by a broad band of uniform geometrical design. In the upper band, the lines are dark blue (lapis lazuli) forming a repeat of six-pointed stars, the centre of each being marked by a small star of yellow colour. The lower band exhibits a *swastika* design in lines of turquoise blue. The two cornices enclose a double row of arched recesses adorned with frescoes, which display tulips, poppies, and other flowers. These arched recesses are of varying width. In the middle of the lower recesses occur miniature balcony windows which add grace and variety to the decorated surface. The beautiful frieze of figured panels which form the subject matter of the volume before us runs between the two rows of arched recesses and is consequently placed at about half the height of the wall. Dark blue elephants are most prominent among the panels and the action of these ponderous animals is expressed with singular vigour. The horses in the panels do not display the same vigour and are wanting in spirit and in firmness of design. Camels are reproduced with little success. Fighting bulls are drawn with more spirit. The spandrels are decorated some with

winged dragons, some with winged angels. They produce a general pleasing effect, though individually they do not appear of any distinctive beauty. A fan, as well as a fly whisk (*chamara*) both emblems of royalty occur in some spandrels. A specially long panel (about 16 feet long) depicts a procession formed as follows :— First an elephant carrying two men, a mahout and a standard bearer, then a group of foot-soldiers with banners and matchlocks, followed by some horsemen and finally a melancholy dog closing the train.

Perhaps the finest and most remarkable scene of the entire series is found not far from the panel last mentioned—four horsemen playing polo. The intense popularity of polo at the Moghul Court will be evident from the following extract from Abul-Fazl's Ain-i-Akbari :—

"Superficial observers look upon this game as a mere amusement, and consider it mere play; but men of more exalted views see in it a means of learning promptitude and decision. It tests the value of a man and strengthens the bonds of friendship. Strong men learn in playing this game the art of riding; and the animals learn to perform feats of agility and to obey the reins. Hence His Majesty is very fond of this game. Externally, the game adds to the splendour of the Court; but viewed from a higher point, it reveals concealed talents.

"The game is played in two ways. The first way is to get hold of the ball with the crooked end of the *chaugan* (polo) stick and to move it slowly from the middle to the *hal* (goal). This manner is called in Hindi *rol*.

"The other way consists in taking deliberate aim and forcibly hitting the ball with the *chaugan* stick out of the middle; the player then gallops after it, quicker than the others, and throws the ball back. This mode is called *belah* and may be performed in various ways * * *

"His Majesty is unrivalled for the skill which he shows in the various ways of hitting the ball: he often manages to strike the ball while in the air, and astonishes all. When a ball is driven to the *hal* (goal), they beat the *naggarah* (big drum), so that all that are far and near may hear it. In order to increase the excitement, betting is allowed. The players win from each other and he who brought the ball to the *hal* wins most. If a ball be caught in the air, and passes, or is made to pass, beyond the limit (*Mil*) the game is looked upon as *burd* (drawn). At such times, the players will engage in a regular fight about the ball and perform admirable feats of skill. "His Majesty also plays at *chaugan* on dark nights, which caused much astonishment even among clever players. The balls which are used at night, are set on fire. For this purpose, *palas* (*ficus indicus*) wood is used which is very light, and burns for a long time. For the sake of adding splendour to the games, which is necessary in worldly matters, His Majesty has knobs of gold and silver fixed to the tops of the *chaugan* sticks."

Elephant fights, camel fights, wrestling scenes among gladiators, and the like interspersed with horsemen and other soldiers, and the figures of courtiers complete this remarkable series of encaustic-tiled mosaics. Dr. Vogel explains the several panels to us as far as possible by the words of contemporary writers, like Bernier, Abul-Fazl, Emperor Jehangir, Abdu-l-Hamid, Hawkins, and Travernier.

The volume is extremely interesting, the illustrations charming and the text learned and informing. One cannot, however, fail being struck by the vaunted personal glories depicted in monuments of the Moghul era, as compared with the Puranic and religious friezes in Hindu monuments.

The best thanks of all lovers of true art and of Indian Archæology are due to Dr. Vogel and to the Director-General of Archæology for this precious publication.

A. V. R.

Hyderabad Archaeological Report 1918-19.

THE Report before us fully maintains the high level of excellence characterising Mr. Yazdani's productions. Mr. Yazdani was engaged mainly in surveying the Qutb Shāhi monuments in Hyderabad City and supervising important conservation work in Aurangabad during the year. The survey of the Qutb Shāhi monuments given in the Report is very interesting and the combined influence of the Persain and North Indian Mussalman and the Hindu architectural styles on these buildings is sketched with a master-hand. The conservation work included the group of Jain and Brahminical caves in Osmanabad, and the tomb of Ali Barid, and the great College of Mahmud Gāivān at Bidar. The most important undertakings under this head, however, related to the Buddhist caves at Pitalkhora and Ajanta. The three-fold problem of the preservation, reproduction and identification of the Ajanta frescoes was fully investigated in consultation with such distinguished experts as Sir John Marshall, M. Foucher, and Sir Aurel Stein. The fixing up of the frescoes has been commenced under the most expert Italian *restorateur*, Signor L. Cecconi and an Assistant (Count Orsini) selected after much consultation by Sir John Marshall. His Exalted Highness' Government have earned the undying gratitude of all lovers of Indian Art and students of Indian culture, by munificently commencing the above work and by the earnestness displayed in completing the arrangements for the other portions of the threefold task. We are delighted to learn that a "Guide to Ajanta" which will contain an authoritative account of the religious scenes depicted in the paintings and have a large number of illustrative plates, is being compiled by M. Foucher. When this guide and the portfolio of reproductions of the frescoes by the three colour photographic process to be prepared by Messrs. Stone & Son, London, are ready, all that is possible for human brains and hands to do, would have been done for securing "a permanent record of these magnificent and unique remains of ancient pictorial art whose value for the student of Eastern Art and of Buddhism, it is most unlikely, will ever be surpassed by any discoveries in the future".

The report contains also a note relating to the prehistoric remains at Janampet in the Palancha Taluk, which richly merit further and close attention at the hands of the Archæological Department. The remains extend over a length of several miles and is locally known as the burial ground of *Rakshasas*.

The report is full of new and interesting matter and contains also a message of great satisfaction to all students of Indian culture. Mr. Yazdani deserves our best congratulations for his unremitting and enthusiastic labours so full of results.

A. V. R.

The Indian Review of Reviews, August 1921.

(EDITOR.—MR. D. V. GUNDAPPA, BASAVANAGUDI POST, BANGALORE.)

WE welcome *The Indian Review of Reviews* into the Journalistic world and wish it every success. Its editor is well known as the Editor of the *Karnataka* and needs no introduction at our hands. The number starts with a declaration of the policy and objects of the Journal and is followed by an interesting and lucid review of all the vital problems affecting India. The Editor has sought to present to the reader in a very short compass matter covering a wide range of topics and has ably succeeded in the attempt. The issue contains, among other interesting extracts and reviews from other periodicals, two original articles, one on the late Mr. W. T. Stead, the Editor of *Review of Reviews* and the other on Mysore and its Ruler. In the latter the editor traces the constitutional development in Mysore and while paying well-deserved tribute to the present sovereign for the healthy influence exercised by His Highness on the affairs of State and for the progress the State has made under his benign care, urges the necessity for the initiation by His Highness of measures tending to make the executive administration of the State more responsible to the people.

The value of the Journal is enhanced by the addition of a diary which gives chronologically all the important world events of the month.

T. S.

Subscriptions and donations received by the Honorary Treasurer during the quarter ending September 1921.

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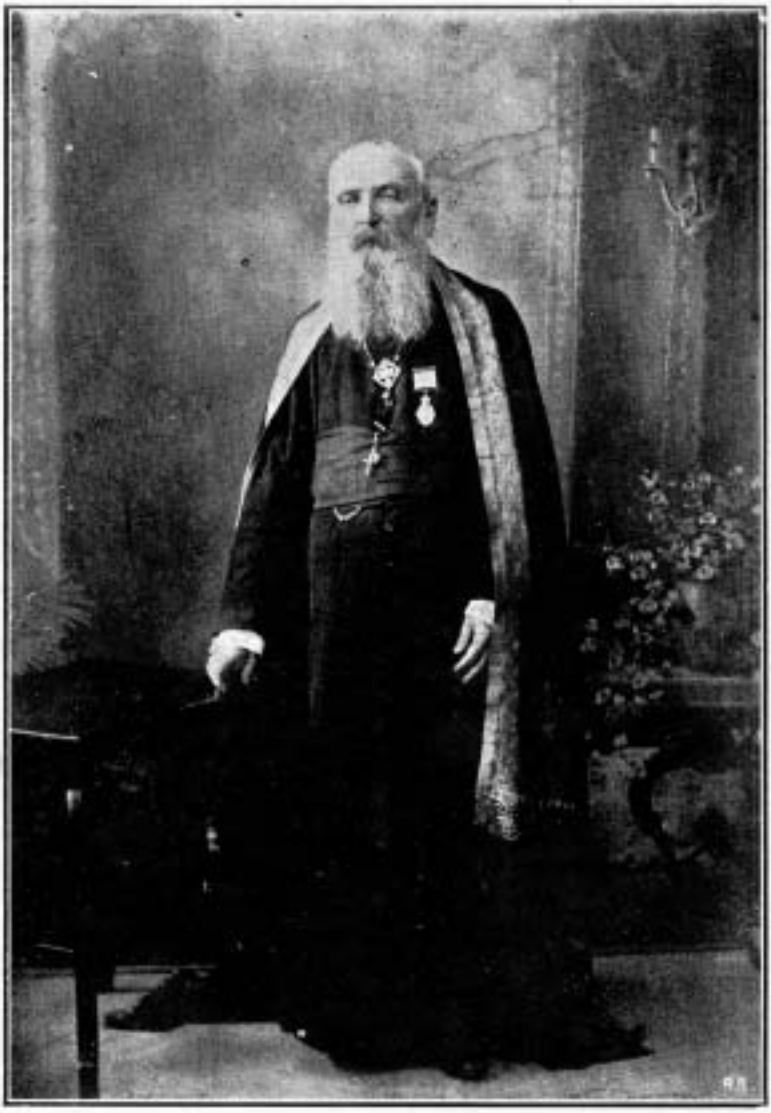

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Congratulatory Meeting in Honour of our President.

A most interesting function took place on the 22nd November 1921 at the Daly Memorial Hall in connection with the Gandabherunda title of "Rajasabhabhushana" conferred by His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore at the last Dasara on our President.

A large number of invitations had been issued by the Committee of the Society and about 300 members and well-wishers, Indian and European, responded to the invitation.

The pretty grounds of the Mythic Society Hall were dotted over with tents and tables where all Indians and Europeans partook of tea and light refreshments. Lady Miller gracefully discharged the duties of hostess.

Among those present were Sir W. Pope, Sir H. Hayden, Sir Asbutosh Mookerjee and Prof. C. V. Raman, members of the Commission of Inquiry in connection with the Indian Institute of Science.

The proceedings were enlivened by a Band which discoursed appropriate music during the whole evening and a Group Photograph was taken by Mr. C. Doveton, a member of the Society.

At 6 p.m., the gathering adjourned to the Hall, the Dewan Saheb, Rajasevadhurina Sir M. Kantaraj Urs, taking the chair, with Lady Miller on his right and the Rev. Father Tabard on his left. Letters and telegrams regretting inability to be present having been referred to, the Secretary, amidst applause, announced a donation of Rs. 200 for the Rev. Father Tabard's Memorial Fund from His Highness the Yuvaraja of Mysore.

THE DEWAN'S SPEECH.

In opening the proceedings of the meeting Sir M. Kantaraj Urs, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Dewan of Mysore, made the following remarks:—

It is a great pleasure to me to be here this evening and take part in these interesting proceedings. We have met here, as you are all aware, to honour the Rev. Father Tabard, our worthy President, on the gracious bestowal of the high title of "Rajasabhabhushana" on him by His Highness the Maharaja, during the last Dasara Durbar. It is a title which is usually conferred on high officers of State who render distinguished service to the State. Among the holders of this title may be counted the Members of Council and the Heads of the Departments. This title literally means an ornament, a jewel, nay, *a gem* of His Highness' Court. The title is indeed a happy one inasmuch as it is not only appropriate but thoroughly expressive of the striking personality of the revered recipient. Father Tabard is a distinguished *alumnus* of the Paris University; he is a member of the

Royal Asiatic Society; a recipient of the Kaiser-i-Hind Gold Medal and in connection with his well-known services during the War, he has been admitted to the Membership of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire. Without taking up more of your time I now call upon the several gentlemen to kindly read the Addresses to be presented on behalf of the members of the Society.

The following Addresses were presented:—

English—Sir Leslie C. Miller, Kt., C.B.E.

Kannada—Rajakaryaprasakta Rao Bahadur M. Shama Rao, Esq., M.A.

Sanskrit—Praktana Vimarsa Vichakshana Rao Bahadur R. A. Narasimhachar, Esq., M.A., M.R.A.S.

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A neat sandal-wood casket, beautifully carved, showing a scene of Sakunthala and containing a copy each of the several Addresses was presented by Sir Leslie C. Miller on behalf of the members of the Society.

FATHER TABARD'S REPLY.

Dewan Saheb, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I hope you do not expect me to thank you in as many languages as you have employed to convey to me your congratulations and good wishes. My linguistic attainments are too limited to enable me to do it, but as Sir Leslie Miller has remarked, "Though the addresses presented this evening are in different languages and though the form of each is different, the spirit of each is the spirit of all" and I desire to be permitted to use in my reply only the one which is the most widely understood.

At the outset may I say that the form of entertainment you have chosen is most pleasing to me, as it is also the one which appears to be the most appropriate for the occasion? The concert of languages with which you have just greeted me is a symbol of what has been one of the most cherished dreams of my life in India: to promote a feeling of unity among all castes and classes.

The presence here this evening of the representatives of all castes and creeds to congratulate me in the principal vernaculars spoken in Southern India together with the *Lingua Franca* of India, and the two languages of the learned, Sanskrit and Persian, is a proof that I have not been unsuccessful in my endeavours, and that the Mythic Society which was founded with that aim in view has achieved its purpose, for it is round its President that so many have gathered here to-night to voice their felicitations in their several tongues.

By this time all, I feel, know my great interest in and love for Mysore and my feeling of respectful devotion to the Mysore Royal Family with whom I have been privileged to be associated for so many years. This is, I venture to think, one of the reasons which has prompted our revered and beloved Maharaja to select me for the unique honour he has been graciously pleased to confer on me; another reason

may be that it is considered that though, not so much personally perhaps, as by means of the Mythic Society, I have contributed to reveal Mysore's glorious past to those who were unfamiliar with it and to spread far and wide the name of our "Model" Mysore.

On the occasion of laying the foundation stone of this Hall on August 30th, 1916, His Highness was graciously pleased to observe "I have read the addresses delivered by Father Tabard at the annual meetings of the Society for the last two years, and I am struck by his love for Mysore and its traditions and his appréciation of the magnificent relics of bygone ages found in this country."

These words which have ever since sounded in my ears and urged me on in my work for Mysore were, I thought at the time, the most precious encouragement His Highness could have given me, and, as such, I treasured them up in my heart with respectful gratitude. Little did I know then that a greater reward was in store for me and that a day would come when my humble services would be recognized in a right royal manner.

You can then imagine my surprise when I was requested to attend the Indian Durbar on the 12th October last, and also the thrill of pleasure and pardonable pride which I felt when I was told that I was one of those "the King delighteth to honour". This announcement and the whole pageant around me at the Durbar made the deepest impression upon me and it required no great effort of imagination to conjure up the past and to imagine myself in the Durbar Hall of the Vijayanagar Palace, or at the Court of the King Bhoja. Here, as there, was the Maharaja seated on his throne, surrounded by his Court heralds proclaiming his greatness, his subjects bowing before their Ruler in loving loyalty and respectful veneration and I called to receive from His Highness the title of "Rajasabhabhushana," Ornament of the King's Court.

More than ever did I feel at that moment that three decades and a half spent in Mysore had given me the right to call myself a Mysorean, and that the graceful recognition by His Highness of the little I may have done, made it a duty for me to continue with even greater zeal to work for Mysore and our revered Maharaja.

It has given me considerable pleasure and it is extremely gratifying to me to see that all the people of Mysore are at one with His Gracious Highness in appreciation of my work for this wonderful country. The innumerable telegrams and letters I have received from public bodies and private individuals, all over the State, have been a proof that such services as I rendered are appreciated and remembered and that I have many dear friends in Mysore, who are grateful for what I have been able to do for their beloved motherland.

Another source of intense gratification to me is the thought which has prompted you to commemorate this auspicious event by associating my name with the Mysore University. As a member of the Senate from its very inception, I have with sympathetic interest watched over its initial difficulties and rejoiced over its successful progress, and it gives me very great pleasure to know that my connection with the

Mysore University should last as long as the University itself. Please then to accept my heartiest and very grateful thanks for the honour you have done me in starting a fund which will enable us to reward University Students who, by their research work, wil throw new lights on the history of Southern India, and Mysore in particular.

Before I resume my seat may I be permitted to offer my best thanks to the Dewan Saheb for having so kindly consented to preside on this occasion. This is a new token of his personal regard for myself and of his abiding interest in the Mythic Society. My grateful thanks are also due to Lady Miller who has so gracefully acted the part of 'hostess' this afternoon, to the Committee of the Mythic Society who have organized this function, to all those who have composed and read the addresses and to you all, Ladies and Gentlemen, who by your presence this evening have given me a proof of sympathy which I shall never forget.

CONCLUDING REMARKS OF THE DEWAN SAHEB.

I have only to re-echo the fine sentiments so admirably expressed in all the Addresses just read to us, in as many as eight languages. I expected that Father Tabard would reply in as many languages, if not in his own mother-tongue. However, he has elected to reply in English which unlike any other Indian language plays no mean part in bringing together the *intelligentia* of the country so that they may understand one another. The distinction conferred upon Rev. Father Talxard is a deservedly popular one. His name and fame as the founder of the Mythic Society have travelled far beyond the limits of Mysore. The journal of the Society is well known both in the East and in the West and has won for itself a name as a scholarly contribution to the historical research of Southern India in general, and Mysore in particular. Father Tabard has played no small part through the columns of this journal in making Mysore and its ancient history known to the outside world. He is, as you all know, the life and soul of the Mythic Society and as has been happily remarked by Sir Leslie Miller at one of our Annual Meetings, Father Tabard is the Mythic Society and *vice versa*. It is only in the fitness of things that such signal public service as is being rendered by Father Tabard should be duly appreciated by His Highness the Maharaja. It is no small gratification to the members of the Society, which already boasts among its members of several titled gentlemen, that their worthy President has also been honoured by a high Mysore title.

On behalf of you all, let me express a sincere hope that he may be spared long to carry on the good and useful work that he has set his heart upon and that still higher distinctions are in store for him.

With your permission, I wish to avail myself of this opportunity of conveying our hearty congratulations to Rajamantrapravina P. Raghavendra Rao, one of our Vice-Presidents, and Rajadharmapravina K. S. Chandrasekhara Aiyar, both long standing members of the Society, on their well-merited distinctions graciously conferred by His Highness during the last Dasara. Their services to the State are too well-known for me to dwell upon, on this occasion. May they long continue to render their loyal services to His Highness the Maharaja, which have justly earned for them these high distiactions!

Mr. Mir Humza Hussain, B.A., B.L., Third Member of Council, proposed a vote of thanks to the Chairman, which, needless to say, was accorded with great enthusiasm.

The Mysore National Anthem was played and lusty cheers were called for His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore. Immediately afterwards there was a fine fire-works display of "Good Night", and to the strains of the National Anthem the notable function concluded.

We may mention that during the proceedings of the evening Father Tabard was wearing the insignia of the Gandabherunda Order of 'Rajasabhabhushana' and also the Kaiser-i-Hind Gold Medal.

കേരള സാഹിത്യ അക്കാദമി

TO

RAJASABHABHUSHANA

REV. FATHER ANTONY MARY TABARD,

M.A., M.R.A.S., M.B.E.,

PRESIDENT, MYTHIC SOCIETY.

As members of the Mythic Society we desire to tender to you who have been its President from its inception and were one of those who took a large part in its foundation, our very hearty and sincere congratulations on the recent bestowal upon you by His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore of the Honourable title of RAJASABHABHUSHANA.

To every one who has the privilege of your personal acquaintance your selection by His Highness for this distinction cannot but be a matter of real gratification but to the members of the Mythic Society it is a special cause of pride and of rejoicing. You have as President of the Society for so many years, by continuous, untiring, beneficent and enthusiastic effort, succeeded in erecting upon the foundations which you helped to lay, a solid, useful and we hope and believe, enduring fabric, the Association of which we are the members. For that we are proud to owe you a great debt of gratitude, a debt which we are ever ready to acknowledge and are never likely to repay. More than this, the genial and friendly spirit in which you have clothed all your Presidential acts, the ever ready sympathy and help which you have extended to every member among us have won for you from year to year in increasing measure the affection and esteem of all.

It is a pleasure to us to believe that among the reasons which have led to the bestowal upon you of this latest distinction, one may be found in the services you have rendered to Mysore through the medium of our Society, in your consistent and sympathetic labours, by your own researches, and by enlisting the aid of numerous other competent persons, to stimulate and foster in His Highness's subjects, a patriotic interest in the study of the history of their country, and in her many monuments of historical, archæological and architectural importance.

It is no wonder then that we view with pride and delight the acquisition by you of honour after honour, and that we welcome the opportunity of offering you our congratulations and expressing our hope that you may long remain among us in the enjoyment of them.

The addresses to be presented to you this evening are in different languages, but though the form of each is different, the spirit of each is the spirit of all: each speaks for the whole Society, and each may serve, we hope, to convey to you some measure of the gratification and pleasure we derive from the event which has been the occasion of this gathering, and of our earnest hope for your future happiness and prosperity.

We beg to subscribe ourselves,

Your sincere friends.

ಅಭಿನಂದನಪತ್ರಿಕೆ.

ಐತಿಹಾಸಿಕ ಸಭಾಧ್ಯಕ್ಷರಾದ ರಾಜಸಭಾಭೂಷಣ

ರೆವರೆಂಡ್ ಫಾದರ್ ಟಿ. ಪ್ಯಾಬಿರ್ಡ್,

ಎಂ. ಎ., ಎಂ. ಆರ್. ಎ. ಎಸ್., ಎಂ. ಬಿ. ಐ., ಯವರ ಸನ್ನಿಧಿಯಲ್ಲಿ

ಇದೇ ಸಭಾಸದಸ್ಯರಾದ ನಾವುಗಳು ಒಪ್ಪಿಸಿದ ಅಭಿನಂದನಪತ್ರಿಕೆ ಏನಂದರೆ:—

ಪೂಜ್ಯರೇ,

ಈ ಸಭೆಯನ್ನು ಸ್ಥಾಪಿಸುವುದರಲ್ಲಿ ಪ್ರಮುಖರಾಗಿ ನಿಂತು, ಆದಿಯಿಂದಲೂ ಕಾರ್ಯನಿರ್ವಾಹ ಮಾಡಿದ ತಮಗೆ ಶ್ರೀಮನ್ ಮೈಸೂರು ಮಹಾರಾಜರವರು ಈ ವರ್ಷದ ನವರಾತ್ರಿಯ ಮಹೋತ್ಸವ ಕಾಲದಲ್ಲಿ "**ರಾಜಸಭಾಭೂಷಣ**" ಎಂಬ ಬಿರುದನ್ನು ದಯಪಾಲಿಸಿದ್ದಕ್ಕಾಗಿ ನಮ್ಮ ಹೃದಯ ಗತವಾದ ಸಂತೋಷವನ್ನು ಈ ಮೂಲಕ ತಮಗೆ ತಿಳಿಸಿ ಮಾಡುತ್ತೇವೆ.

ಶ್ರೀಮನ್ ಮಹಾರಾಜರವರು ತಮಗೆ ಈ ಗೌರವವನ್ನು ತೋರಿಸಿದ್ದು ತಮ್ಮ ಪರಿಚಿತರಾದ ಪ್ರತಿ ಒಬ್ಬರಿಗೂ ಸಂತೋಷಕರವಾಗಿದೆ; ಆದರೆ ಈ ಸಭೆಯ ಸದಸ್ಯರಿಗಾದರೋ ವಿಶೇಷವಾದ ಚಿತ್ತಸಮುನ್ನತಿಗೂ ಆನಂದಕ್ಕೂ ಕಾರಣವಾಗಿದೆ.

ನಾವುಗಳು ಸದಸ್ಯರಾಗಿರತಕ್ಕ ಈ ಸಭೆಯ ಸಂಸ್ಥಾಪನೆಗೆ ಅಧ್ಯಕ್ಷರಾದ ತಾವು ಸಂತತವಾಗಿ ಲೇಶವೂ ಆಲಸ್ಯವಿಲ್ಲದೆ ಶ್ರದ್ಧೆಯಿಂದ ಲೋಕೋಪಕಾರ್ಥವಾಗಿ ಮಾಡಿದ ಪ್ರಯತ್ನದಿಂದ ಕಟ್ಟಡವು ಶಾಶ್ವತವಾಗಿ ನಿಂತು, ಕಾರ್ಯಕ್ರಮವು ಸಾರೋದ್ಧಾರವಾಗಿಯೂ ಪ್ರಯೋಜನಕಾರಿಯಾಗಿಯೂ ಜರಗುವದೆಂದು ದೃಷ್ಟಗೋಚರಕ್ಕೆ ಅವಕಾಶವುಂಟಾಗಿದೆ. ತಾವು ಮಾಡಿದ ಮಹದುಪಕಾರಕ್ಕೆ ಅನುಗುಣವಾದ ಕೃತಜ್ಞತೆಯನ್ನು ತಮಗೆ ಸಮರ್ಪಿಸಲು ನಮಗೆ ಶಕ್ಯವಿಲ್ಲಾ. ಅದರಿಂದಲೇ ತಮ್ಮ ಉಪಕಾರದ ಋಣಭಾರವು ನಮ್ಮ ಮೇಲೆ ಎಂದೆಂದಿಗೂ ಇರುವುದೆಂಬುವುದೇ ನಮಗೆ ಪ್ರತಿಜ್ಞೆಯನ್ನುಂಟುಮಾಡಿದೆ. ಅಧ್ಯಕ್ಷರಾಗಿ ತಾವು ನಡಿಸಿದ ಸಮಸ್ತ ಕಾರ್ಯಗಳಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ತಮ್ಮ ಸೌಜನ್ಯವೂ ಮಿತ್ರಭಾವವೂ ತುಂಬಿ ತುಳುಕಾಡುತ್ತಲಿದೆ.

ನಮ್ಮಲ್ಲಿ ಪ್ರತಿ ಒಬ್ಬ ಸದಸ್ಯನಿಗೂ ಅನುರಾಗವನ್ನು ತೋರಿಸಿ ಸಹಾಯಮಾಡಿರುವಿರಿ. ಇಂಥಾ ಸದ್ಗುಣಗಳು, ತಮ್ಮಲ್ಲಿ ನಮ್ಮ ಪ್ರೀತಿಯನ್ನೂ ಗೌರವವನ್ನೂ ಪರ್ವಪರ್ವ ಅಧಿಕವಾಗಿ ಆಕರ್ಷಣ ಮಾಡಿವೆ.

ಆದಕಾರಣ ತಾವು ಒಂದರನೇಲೊಂದು ಗೌರವವನ್ನು ಸಂಪಾದಿಸಿರತಕ್ಕದ್ದು ನಮ್ಮ ಪ್ರತಿಷ್ಠೆಗೂ ಸಂತೋಷಕ್ಕೂ ಕಾರಣವೆಂದು ನಾವು ಭಾವಿಸತಕ್ಕದ್ದೇನೂ ಆಶ್ಚರ್ಯವಲ್ಲ; ಮತ್ತು ಇಂಥ

ಸುಸಮಯದಲ್ಲಿ ನಮ್ಮ ಅಭಿನಂದನವನ್ನು ತಮಗೆ ಅರಿಕೆಮಾಡಿ ತಾವು ನಮ್ಮಲ್ಲಿಯೇ ದೀರ್ಘ ಕಾಲ ಇದ್ದು ಅಂಥಾ ಗೌರವಗಳನ್ನನುಭವಿಸುತ್ತಾ ಇರಬೇಕೆಂದು ನಾವು ಕೋರತಕ್ಕದ್ದೂ ಏನೂ ಆಶ್ಚರ್ಯವಲ್ಲ.

ಶ್ರೀಮನ್ಮಹಾರಾಜರವರು ಈ ಬಹುಮಾನವನ್ನು ತಮಗೆ ನೂಡಿದ್ದಕ್ಕೆ ಅನೇಕ ಕಾರಣಗಳಿರುತ್ತವೆ. ಅವುಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಮುಖ್ಯವಾದ ಒಂದನ್ನು ನಾವು ಹೇಳಬಹುದಾಗಿದೆ. ಈ ದೇಶದ ಚರಿತ್ರೆಗಳಲ್ಲಿಯೂ, ಸುಪ್ರಸಿದ್ಧನಾದ ಕಟ್ಟಡಗಳು, ಶಾಸನಗಳು, ಇವುಗಳಿಂದ ಪ್ರದರ್ಶಿತವಾದ ಪುರಾತನ ನಾಗರಿಕ ವಿಚಾರಗಳಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಇಲ್ಲಿನ ಜನರಿಗಿರುವ ಅಭಿಮಾನವು ಪ್ರರೋಚಿಸುವಂತೆ ತಮ್ಮ ಸಂಗತವಾದ ಸ್ವಂತ ಶೋಧನೆಯಿಂದಲೂ ಈ ಕಾರ್ಯಕ್ಕಾಗಿ ಇತರರ ಸಹಕಾರದಿಂದಲೂ ಮೈಸೂರು ದೇಶಕ್ಕೆ ತಾವು ಮಾಡಿದ ಉಪಕಾರವು ಇಂಥಾ ಘನತೆಯನ್ನು ನಮ್ಮ ಮಹಾರಾಜರು ತಮಗೆ ತೋರಿಸಿರುವುದಕ್ಕೆ ಒಂದು ಮುಖ್ಯಕಾರಣವೆಂದು ನಂಬಲು ನಮಗೆ ಬಹಳ ಆನಂದ ಉಂಟಾಗಿದೆ.

ಈ ದಿವಸ ಸಾಯಂಕಾಲ ಬರೆದು ಒಪ್ಪಿಸಿರುವ ವಿಜ್ಞಾಪನ ಪತ್ರಿಕೆಗಳು ಬೇರೇ ಬೇರೇ ಭಾಷೆಗಳಲ್ಲಿದ್ದರೂ ಅವುಗಳ ಅರ್ಥವೂ ಉದ್ದೇಶವೂ ಒಂದೇ ಆಗಿದೆ. ಅವುಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಪ್ರತಿ ಒಂದೂ ಈ ಸಭೆಯವರ ಅಭಿಮತವನ್ನು ಒಳಕೊಂಡಿದೆ. ಈ ದಿವಸ ಇಲ್ಲಿ ನಾವು ಸೇರುವುದಕ್ಕೆ ಕಾರಣಭೂತವಾದ ವಿಷಯದಿಂದ ನಮಗೆ ಮನಸ್ಸಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಹುಟ್ಟಿದ ತೃಪ್ತಿಯನ್ನೂ ಆನಂದವನ್ನೂ ಈ ಪತ್ರಿಕೆಯ ಪೂರ್ವಕ ಸ್ವಲ್ಪ ಮಟ್ಟಿಗಾದರೂ ವ್ಯಕ್ತಪಡಿಸಿ ಭಗವಂತನು ಆಯುರಾರೋಗ್ಯಗಳನ್ನು ತಮಗಿತ್ತು ತಮ್ಮನ್ನು ದೀರ್ಘಕಾಲ ಕಾಪಾಡಲೆಂದು ನಾವುಗಳು ಪ್ರಾರ್ಥಿಸುತ್ತೇವೆ.

ತಮ್ಮ ಗುಣಾತಿಶಯಗಳನ್ನೆಲ್ಲಾ ಪ್ರತ್ಯೇಕ ಪ್ರತ್ಯೇಕ ವಿವರಿಸಲು ಭಾಷೆಯು ಲಂಬಿಸುವದರಿಂದ ಅವುಗಳ ಸಾರವನ್ನು ಒಂದು ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತ ಶ್ಲೋಕದಿಂದ ಸಂಗ್ರಹವಾಗಿ ತಿಳಿಸುತ್ತೇವೆ:—

ಕೋತಿಭಾರಃ ಸಮರ್ಥಾನಾಂ ಕಿಂ ದೂರಂ ವ್ಯವಸಾಯಿನಾಂ।
ಕೋವಿದೇಶಃ ಸವಿದ್ಯಾನಾಂ ಕಃ ಪರಃ ಪ್ರಿಯವಾದಿನಾಂ॥

ಅಂದರೆ ಸಮರ್ಥರಾದವರಿಗೆ ಯಾವುದುತಾನೇ ಭಾರ; ಕಾರ್ಯಸಿದ್ಧಿಗೆ ಪ್ರಯತ್ನವನ್ನು ಮಾಡುವವರಿಗೆ ಯಾವುದುತಾನೇ ದೂರ; ವಿದ್ಯಾವಂತರಾದವರಿಗೆ ಯಾವುದುತಾನೇ ಪರದೇಶ; ಪ್ರಿಯನುಡಿಯುಳ್ಳವರಿಗೆ ಯಾರುತಾನೇ ಅನ್ಯರು.

श्रीमते टेबार्ड् महाशयाय

संस्कृतभाषायां अभिनंदनपत्रिका.

भो माननीय रेवरेण्ड् टेबार्ड् महाशय.

श्रीमत्कृष्णक्षमापाल वितीर्ण विरुदोज्वलम् ।
सन्तोषातिशयेन त्वामभिनन्दामहे वयम् ॥

इह खलु भवाननवरत लोकोपकार निरतो विद्याविनयादि महितश्च पूर्वमेव महद्भिः एम्. वि. ई., केसरिहिण्ड् प्रभृत्युपाधिभिर्भूषित इति नैतदाश्चर्यम्. इदं पुनराश्चर्यमिव प्रति भाति यदिदानीमस्मत्प्रभुणा महीशूर महाराजेन श्रीमत्कृष्णराजेन्द्रेण पाश्चात्येष्वनन्यसाधारण "राजसभाभूषणा" ख्य विरुदराजेन सभाजितोसि. वस्तुतस्तु गुणग्राहिणास्मन्महाराजेन तदर्हाय भवते समुचित विरुदवितरणं सांप्रतमेवैतत्.

त्वया किलात्र कल्याणनगर्यां प्राचीनधर्मादि रहस्य विचारधियामुपकाराय श्रीमत्कर्णाट जनपदेन्द्रेण श्रीकृष्णभूपेन्द्रेणोदारहृदयेन वितीर्णां साहाय्यसंपत्तिमधिगत्य निर्मितायामेत द्राज्य हितचिन्तकस्य श्रीमतो डेली प्रभुवर्यस्याङ्कितेनालङ्कृतायां शालायां प्रतिष्ठापिता "मिथिक् सोसैटी" त्याभिख्यावती विद्यासमितिस्तदा तदा विदुषामुपन्यासैस्तत्प्रचारैश्च श्रोतृजनानन्ददायिनी सहृदय हृदयाह्लादिनी सती नकेवलमस्मिन्देशे भारते वर्षे वा परन्तु सकलेष्वपि पाश्चात्यजनपदेषु सुप्रसिद्धिमुपनीतित्यहो लोकाराधनैकतान चित्तवृत्तेस्तव दृढव्रतत्वमित्य लमतिविस्तरेण.

अधुना खलु पाश्चात्य मत चरित शास्त्रादि निष्णातोपि भवान् भारतीय मत धर्म चरित सम्प्रदायादि जिज्ञासा कुतूहलित स्वान्तस्तदर्थमनवरतमनल्पेन प्रयासेन तदन्वेषण विचार प्रसिद्धि विदधानस्सन्नास्माकीन एव नत्वपर इति दृढं प्रत्ययं प्रतिपद्य प्रमोदसरणिमुपनीता स्मः. इयमेवासाधारणी प्रतीतिस्तावद्दूरदर्शिनोऽस्मन्महाराजस्य श्रुतिपथमनुप्राप्य नचिरात्त्वां "राजसभाभूषण" पद भाजनमकार्षीदिति परमानन्द परिपूरितान्तःकरणा स्मः.

अतश्चेदानीम्

लोकेशानुग्रहेण त्वमायुरारोग्य भाग्यवान् ।
भूया भूरियशाश्चेति नित्यमाशास्महे वयम् ॥

ریورنڈ پادری وانٹونی میری ٹیا برڈ — از تو معمورۂ تبخانہ مبارک باشد

زینت یم اے دیم بی آئی دیم آر اے یس — بسکہ اے عاقلِ فرزانہ مبارک باشد

چو خطابِ تو شدہ راجہ سبھا بھوشنا گفت — چہ یگانہ و چہ بیگانہ مبارک باشد

باد ہر روز تو ہم پایۂ جشن نوروز — خانہ ات ہمچو طربخانہ مبارک باشد۔

ہر چہ در سینہ نہانست بروں می آید

تہنیت نامۂ دیوانہ مبارک باشد

گذرانیدہ

اراکین انجمنِ تواریخ قدیم (میتھک سوسائٹی)

ہلال پریس بنگلور سٹی

HILAL PRESS. BANGALORE CITY

قطعۂ در اظہارِ مسرت بہ تقریبِ جشنِ تہنیتِ خطاب راجہ سبھا بھوشنا

بہ ریورنڈ فادر انٹونی میری ٹیا برڈیم۔ اے۔ یم۔ بی۔ آئی۔ یم۔ آر۔ اے۔ یس

از حضورِ پُر نور مہاراجۂ ملکِ میسور کرنل سری کرشنا راج وڈیر بہادر جی سی آئی ای جی بی آئی

عزت افزائے شاہانہ مبارک باشد — رونق افروزیٔ کاشانہ مبارک باشد

اے خوش آں بزم کہ دریادِ تو مئے می نوشند — گردشِ ساغر و پیمانہ مبارک باشد

اندریں جشن کہ چوں قلقلِ مینا خیزد — ہمہ آوازۂ مستانہ مبارک باشد

تا بود وردِ تو ہر صبح و مسا فارقلیط ق — ورکفت سبحۂ صد دانہ مبارک باشد

در اناجیل ہمہ نام و نشانش روشن — بسرِ زلف دو تا شانہ مبارک باشد

توئی آن شمع کلیسا کہ مسیحا فرمود — گفت پروانہ بہ پروانہ مبارک باشد

علم و فضلِ تو شدہ سرمۂ چشمِ حیرت — فیضِ عام تو بشکرانہ مبارک باشد

آئینہ نظروں سے دیکھیں اور مبارکباد ادا کرنیکے لئے ایسے موقع کا خیر مقدم کریں۔ اور امید رکھیں کہ آپ بارگاہ
ان اعزاز کے ساتھ ہمارے درمیان رہیں۔

(4) سوائے اسکے ہمکو اسکے یقین سے مسرت ہوتی ہے کہ جو اسباب آپکے اعزاز کے باعث ہوئے ہیں ان
میں بھی ایک ہوگا کہ آپنے اس سوسائٹی کے ذریعہ سے ملک میسور کی خدمات ادا کی ہے اور وہ یہ ہیں
کہ آپنے کچھ اپنے ذاتی تحقیقات سے اور کچھ دیگر قابل اصحاب کی تائید سے مسلسل اور ہمدردانہ کوششوں
کے بدولت ہز ہائینس کی رعایا میں اپنے ملک کی تاریخ کو وطنی محبت کے ساتھ پڑھنے کا اور اپنے ملک
کے کثیر التعداد تاریخی، تعمیری اور قدیم الایام یادگاروں کی تحقیق کرنے کا چسکا پیدا کردیا اور
اسکو تقویت بخشا۔

(5) آج شام کو جو تہنیت نامے اپنے ہدیۂ نظر ہونگے وہ مختلف زبانوں میں ہونگے اور اگرچکہ
ہر ایک کا قالب مختلف ہوگا مگر ہر ایک کی روح یکی روح ہوگی۔ ہر ایک کا کہنا ساری سوسائٹی
کا کہنا ہوگا اور ہم کو امید ہے کہ آج کا ہر ایک تہنیت نامہ ہمارے مسرت اور خوش حالی
کا جو ہمکو اس موقع پر حاصل ہوئی ہے۔ اور آپکے آیندہ کی خورسندی و ترقی کے متعلق ہماری
جو دلی آرزو کا اظہار آپکے کچھ حد تک ضروری کر رہیگا۔

ہلال پریس بنگلور سٹی

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(۱) ہز ہائنس حضور مہاراجہ صاحب میسور سے آپ کو جو خطاب راج سبھا بھوشنا کا حاصل ہوا ہے اسپر ہم ممبران تھیوسوفیکل سوسائٹی آپکو بہت جوش و عقیدتمندی کے ساتھ مبارکباد کہتے ہیں۔ کیونکہ اس سوسائٹی کے آپ ابتدا سے پریسیڈنٹ رہے ہیں۔ اور آپ ان اصحاب سے ایک ہیں جو اس سوسائٹی کی بنیاد ڈالنے میں زیادہ تر حصہ لیا تھا۔

(2) جس شخص کو آپ سے ذاتی تعرف رکھنے کا فخر حاصل ہے اوسکو یہ سچی مسرت کا باعث ہے کہ ہز ہائنس نے آپ کو اس اعزاز کیلئے انتخاب فرمایا۔ مگر تھیوسوفیکل سوسائٹی کے ممبروں کیلئے یہ اعزاز فخر و شادمانی کا ایک مخصوص سبب ہے آپنے سو سائٹی کے پریسیڈنٹ کی حیثیت میں سابق سے اپنی متواتر ان تھک فیاض اور جوشیلے کوششوں سے ایک بنیاد پر جسکے ڈالنے میں آپ بھی ساعی تھے ایک مستقل کارآمد اور یہ ہمارا یقین ہے کہ ایک دیرپا انجمن جسکے ممبر ہونیکا فخر حاصل ہے قایم کرنے میں کامیاب ہو چکے اور آپ کی اس کامیابی پر ہمکو فخر ہے کہ ہم سب آپکے زیادہ مرہون احسان ہیں جسکا اعتراف کرنیکے لئے ہم ہمیشہ تیار ہیں۔ اور جس سے کسبکد وشی حاصل کرنی دشوار امر ہے اس سے زیادہ قابل قدر یہ بات ہے کہ آپکا طرز انداز صدارتی کارروائیوں میں ہر وقت نہایت دوستانہ حرکات سے ملو تھا۔ آپکی ہر وقت کی ہمدردی اور امداد جس سے کہ آپنے سوسائٹی کے ہر ایک ممبر کو مستفیض فرمایا اس سے آپکی محبت اور آپکا اعزاز ہمارے دلوں کو سال بہ سال مسخر کرتا گیا

(3) پس اس صورت میں کوئی تعجب خیز امر نہوگا۔ اگر ہم آپکی مسلسل قدر افزائی پر فخر اور مسرت

మహాశయులైన రెవరెండు ఫాదర్ టాబార్డు, ఎం. ఎ., ఎం. బి. ఇ., ఎం. ఆర్. ఎ. ఎస్., ధొరగారికి.

అయ్యా,

"మిథిక్ సొసైటి" సాంఘికులైన మేము తమకు శ్రీమన్మహారాజుగారు ఒసంగియుండు "రాజసభాభూషణ" యను బిరుదునుగుఱించి మిగుల అభినందించుచున్నారము. ఇటువంటి బిరుదులకు ఇదివరకు భారతేయులే పాత్రులుగానుండిరి. యూరోపు దేశీయులకు ఇటువంటి రాజసన్మానము లభించుటకిదియే మొదలు. తాము యూరోపు దేశీయులయినప్పటికిన్ని భారతేయులతో నేకీభవించి భారతదేశమునే మాతృదేశముగా స్వీకరించియున్నారు. తాము ఈ మైసూరు రాష్ట్రీమునకు వచ్చినది మొదలు యావజ్జీవమును ఈ రాష్ట్రీముయొక్కయు ఈ రాష్ట్రీయులయొక్కయు ఔన్నత్యమును ప్రపంచమునకు వెల్లడిజేయుట మొదలుగాగల దేశసేవను ముఖ్యపనిగా నైకొనియున్నారు. అందునకు తమ అగ్రాసనాధిపత్యములో ఈ సంఘము చెందియుండు ప్రపంచ ప్రసిద్ధియే దృష్టాంతముగాయున్నది. తమ ఆసక్తివలన ఈ సంఘము జనించినది మొదలు శ్రీమన్మహారాజుగారున్ను వారి సర్కారున్ను చేసియుండు సాహాయమునకు మేమంతయు కృతజ్ఞులుగావున్నాము. ఏలిక వారియొక్క పోషణలోనుండి పెరిగినట్టి ఈ సంఘము చేయుచుండు దేశ సేవకుమెచ్చి, అగ్రాసనాధిపతులైన తమకు ఈ బిరుదునొసంగినారనుటకెంతమాత్రమును సందియములేదు. తమకు కలిగియుండు గౌరవమును మేమందరును మాకు కలిగినట్లే భావించుచున్నారము. ఇదియే సాంఘికులందరికిని ప్రోత్సాహమును పురిగొల్పి సంఘముయొక్క మరింత అభివృద్ధికి కారణమగుగాక.

తాము ఎల్లకాలమందును శ్రీమన్మహారాజుగారియొక్కయు వారివంశపు వారియొక్కయు ముఖ్య స్నేహితులుగానుండి, ఈ రాష్ట్రీముయొక్క హితచింతనమునే చేయుచున్నవారు. తాము మొనరించుచుండు స్వార్థరహితమైన దేశసేవ మరింతమెచ్చికొకువచ్చి ఈ సంఘము తమ అగ్రాసనాధిపత్యములో ఏలిక వారి ముఖ్యానుగ్రహమునకు పాత్రమై, ఇంకను ఔన్నత్యమును చెందుగాక. తమకు శ్రీమన్మహారాజుగారియొద్దయు బ్రిటిష్ సామ్రాజ్యమువారియొద్దయు ఇంకను అనేక గొప్ప మర్యాదలు గలుగుగాక అని కోరుచున్నాము.

ఆ కరుణానిధియైన పరమేశ్వరుఁడు తా మొనరించుచుండు దేశసేవకు యే యొక్క కుందకము రాకను, తమకు చాలునంత ఆయురారోగ్యమును, ఉల్లాసమునుయిచ్చి, బ్రోచుగాకయని ప్రార్థించుచున్నాము.

ఇట్లని సంతోష సూచకముగా యిచ్చినట్టి మంగళశాసనము.

శ్రీ కృష్ణరాయగుణర
త్నాకల్పా కల్పకద్రు ॥ మాధికదాన
శ్రీకుతుకా గతలోకా
లోకాంతర సకలసుకవి ॥ లోకస్తుత్యా.

കേരള സാഹിത്യ
അക്കാദമി

TO

RAJASABHABHUSHANA

REV. FATHER ANTONY MARY TABARD,

M.A., M.R.A.S., M.B.E.,

PRESIDENT, MYTHIC SOCIETY.

பூஜ்யரான அய்யா,

சரித்திரவாராய்ச்சியில் மிக்கமேன்பாடுடைய இம்மிதிக் சங்கத்தின் அங்கத்தினர்களான நாங்கள் இச்சங்கத்தை நிலைநாட்டினது முதல் அதன் அத்யக்ஷகராய் விடாமுயற்சியுடனும் பெரும் புகழுடனும் அதன் க்ஷேமத்தை பரிபாலித்து வரும் தங்களுக்கு மாட்சிமை தங்கிய நம்மைசூர்தேயத்து மகாராஜா அவர்கள் பட்டப்பெயரில் பெருமைபெற்ற "ராஜசபாபூஷண" என்னும் கௌரவத்தை அன்புகூர்ந்து அளித்ததற்காக அளவிடவொண்ணாதவாகந்தத்தை யடைந்துளோம். அச்சிறப்பு எங்களுக்கும் சேர்ந்ததென்று சொல்லவும் வேண்டுமோ?

தங்களின் அருமை பெருமைகளை நன்குணர்ந்த அனைவருக்கும் இச்செய்தி இயம்ப முடியாத சந்தோஷத்தைக்கொடுக்கும்போது, தங்களின் நேர்பரிச்சியம் என்னும் பெரும் பாக்கியத்தைப்படைத்த எங்களுக்கு அவரினும் அதிக உவப்பு உண்டாகாமற்போகுமோ?

ஐரோப்பாவின் பூந்தோட்டம் என்னும் பெயர் புனைந்த பிரான்சுதேயத்தில் உயர் குலத்தில் தோன்றி இளம்பருவத்திலேயே துறவு பூண்டு, இப்பாதகண்டத்திற்கு ஓர் நிதியாய்த்தோன்றி ஆங்கிலத்தில் அதிநிபுணராய், ஆரியவன்னையின் ஏற்றத்தை அன்புடன் ஆராய்ந்து, அவ்வாராய்ச்சித்திரட்டை இன்றியமையாததும் இடைவிடாததுமான தங்களுடைய பெரும் முயற்சியால் எல்லாரும் உணரும்படிசெய்தபேருதவியன்றோ இச்சங்கத்தின் மேன்பாட்டிற்குக் காரணமாயிற்று. அத்தகைய உற்சாகம் தங்களிடத்தில் நீடூழிகாலம் நிறைந்து எங்களுக்கும் ஓர் தூண்டுகோலாக என்றும் இருக்குமென்று நம்புகிறோம். நாங்கள் சரித்திரவாராய்ச்சியிலும் இன்னும் ஏற்றமுள்ள விஷயங்களிலும் இச்சங்கத்தின் அபிவிருத்தியை எங்களால் இயன்றமட்டும் சோம்புதலில்லாமல் அதிகப்படுத்துவதில் எங்களில் முதன்மையான நிலைமையை கெடுகாள் வகித்து, இத்தகைய கௌரவங்கள் பலவற்றை இன்னும் மென்மேலும் அடைந்து அநுபவிப்பீர்களென்று முழுமுதற்கடவுளைப் பிரார்த்திக்கின்றோம்.

மாட்சிமைதங்கிய மகாராஜாவின் குடிகள் அனைவரும் இச்சங்கத்தின் க்ஷேமத்தில் அன்பை வைத்திருப்பது இயல்பே; ஏனெனில் தங்களுடைய ஒப்புயர்வில்லாத சரித்திரவாராய்ச்சியாலும், அத்தகைய ஆராய்ச்சியில் பண்டிதரான நம் சங்கத்தின் அங்கத்தின்

சிலராலுமன்றோ, இப்பரதகண்டத்திற்கு நீர்வளம், நிலவளம், குடிவளம், மும்மதச்செருக்கு, சிலாசாசனங்கள், பழைய தேவாலயங்கள் இன்னும் முதலிய ஏற்றங்கள் ஏராளமாயிருப்பதினால் ஓர் நிலகமெனத்திகழும் இம்மைசூர் ராஜ்யத்தின் பெருமை பலருக்கும் தெரியவந்தது. இன்னும் பெரும் குணங்கள்பல தம்மிடத்தில் குடிகொண்டிருப்பினும் முக்கியமாய் இப்பேருதவிக்கன்றோ நம்ம மகாராஜா அவர்கள் இப்பிருதை தங்களுக்கு அளித்தது. ஏழைகளாகிய நாம் நம்ம மாட்சிமைதங்கிய மகாராஜா அவர்களுக்கு செய்நன்றியாலன்றி வேறு கைம்மாறு என்னசெய்யமுடியும்?

இன்று தங்களுக்கு நாங்கள் மிக்க அன்புடன் அளிக்கும் சந்தோஷப்பத்திரங்கள் பல பாஷையிலிருப்பினும் அவைகளின் கருத்து ஒன்றேயாம். எல்லாம் தங்களின் ஏற்றங்களையே எடுத்துரைப்பனவாம். அவைகள் ஒவ்வொன்றும் தாங்கள் இச்சங்கத்தின் அக்கிராசனாதிபத்தியத்தை நெடுங்காலம் குன்றாகளிப்புடன்வகித்து, தங்களை முன்னிட்டு நாமெல்லோரும் பெருமையை அடைந்து தங்கள் பாக்கியத்தில் ஈடுபட்டு இருக்கவேணுமென்பதே எங்கள் பிராத்தனையை எங்கும் நிறைந்த கடவுள் நிறைவேற்றுவரென்றுநம்பும்

தங்கள் ப்ரீதி பாத்திரரான,
இச்சங்கத்து அங்கத்தினர்கள்.

രാജസഭാഭൂഷണ

റവറൻഡ് എ. എം. ടാബാഡ്

എം. എ., എം. ബി. ഇ., എം. ആർ. എ. എസ്.

"മിത്തിക്കു സൊസൈററി"യുടെ ജനനം മുതൽ അതിന്റെ സ്ഥിരം അദ്ധ്യക്ഷസ്ഥാനം വഹിച്ചിരുന്നാളും ആ യോഗത്തിന്റെ സ്ഥാപനയിൽ അശ്രാന്തപരിശ്രമം ചെയ്ത നേതാക്കളിൽ ഒരുവനും ആയ അങ്ങേക്ക് ഈയിടെ മൈസൂർ മഹാരാജാവു തിരുമനസ്സുകൊണ്ടു ബഹുമാനസൂചകമായ "രാജസഭാഭൂഷണ" എന്ന സ്ഥാനം നൽകിയതിൽ പ്രസ്തുത യോഗത്തിന്റെ അംഗങ്ങളായ ഞങ്ങൾ അങ്ങയെ ഹൃദയപൂർവം അനുമോദിച്ചുകൊള്ളുവാൻ താല്പര്യപ്പെടുന്നു.

അങ്ങയുമായി തമ്മിൽ പരിചയിക്കുവാൻ ഇടവന്നിട്ടുള്ള ഏവനും, മഹാരാജാവു തിരുമനസ്സുകൊണ്ടു പ്രസ്തുത സ്ഥാനബഹുമതി ലഭിക്കുവാൻ അർഹനാണെന്നു വെച്ച് അങ്ങയെ തിരഞ്ഞെടുത്തത് അത്യന്തം സന്തോഷകരമായ അവസ്ഥയാകുന്നു. എന്നാലോ "മിത്തിക്കു സൊസൈററി"യുടെ അംഗങ്ങൾക്ക് അത് ഒരു പ്രത്യേകം ആഹ്ളാദത്തിനും, അഭിമാനത്തിനും കാരണമാണെന്നു പ്രസ്താവയോഗ്യമാകുന്നു. വളരെക്കൊല്ലത്തോളമായി സ്ഥിരം അദ്ധ്യക്ഷന്റെ നിലയിൽ ഇടവിടാതെയും അശ്രാന്തപരിശ്രമത്തോടും പൊതുജനക്ഷേമകാംക്ഷയോടും അത്യുത്സാഹപരിശ്രമത്തോടുംകൂടി ചെയ്ത ശ്രമങ്ങൾ നിമിത്തം ആരംഭത്തിൽ അങ്ങയുടെ സഹായത്തോടുകൂടെ സ്ഥാപിക്കപ്പെട്ട അടിസ്ഥാനത്തിന്മേൽ ഉറപ്പിലും പൊതുജനോപകാരപ്രദവും സർവ്വദാ അതേപ്രകാരം നിലനിന്നുപോരുമെന്നു ഞങ്ങൾ വിശ്വസിക്കുന്നതും ഞങ്ങൾ അംഗങ്ങളായതും ആയിട്ടുള്ള പ്രസ്തുത യോഗമായ ഒരു കെട്ടിടം ഉണ്ടാക്കുവാൻ അങ്ങയെക്കൊണ്ടു സാധിച്ചു. ആ ഒരു സംഗതികൊണ്ടുതന്നെ ഞങ്ങൾ അങ്ങേക്ക് അത്യന്തം കടപ്പെട്ടവരാകുന്നു എന്നു മാത്രമല്ല, ആ സംഗതി സസന്തോഷം സമ്മതിക്കുന്നതിൽ ഞങ്ങൾ സദാ ഒരുക്കമുണ്ടെങ്കിലും അതിന് അങ്ങേക്ക് ഒരു പ്രതിഫലം തരുവാൻ ഞങ്ങൾക്ക് ഒരിക്കലും സാധിക്കുന്നതുമല്ല. ഇതിനുപുറമേ ഞങ്ങളിൽ ഒന്നൊഴിയാതെ എല്ലാ അംഗങ്ങളുടെയും നേരെ അങ്ങയുടെ അദ്ധ്യക്ഷപ്രവൃത്തികളിൽ പ്രദർശിപ്പിക്കുന്നതായ അനുകമ്പയും സ്വഭാവഗുണവും കരുണയും നിമിത്തം കൊല്ലം പോകുന്തോറും എല്ലാവരുടെ സ്നേഹത്തിനും ബഹുമാനത്തിനും അങ്ങുന്നു മേൽക്കുമേൽ പാത്രീഭവിച്ചിരിക്കുന്നു എന്നും സ്മരണീയമാകുന്നു.

ഇങ്ങിനെയിരിക്കുന്ന സ്ഥിതിക്ക് അങ്ങേക്കു കീർത്തിസൂചകമായ ബഹുമതികൾ മേൽക്കുമേൽ ലഭിച്ചുകാണുന്നതു ഞങ്ങൾക്ക് അത്യന്തം സന്തോഷത്തിനും അഭിമാനത്തിനും കാരണഭൂതമാകുന്നതിലും, അങ്ങയെ അനുമോദിക്കുവാൻ ഇടവരുത്തിയ ഈ അവസരത്തെ സന്തോഷപുരസ്സരം കൈക്കൊണ്ട് ഈവക കീർത്തിയോടെ അധികംകാലം ജീവിച്ചിരുന്നു കാണുവാൻ ഞങ്ങൾ ആഗ്രഹിക്കുന്നതിലും ഒട്ടും ആശ്ചര്യത്തിനു തരമില്ലല്ലോ.

ഏന്നുമാത്രമല്ല, മഹാരാജാവുതിരുമനസ്സുകൊണ്ട് അങ്ങേക്ക് ഈയിടെ പ്രസ്തുത കീർത്തി നൽകിയതിനുള്ള മുഖ്യകാരണങ്ങളിൽ ഒന്നു "മിത്തിക്കുസൊസൈററി" മുഖേന മൈസൂർരാജ്യത്തിന്റെ അഭിവൃദ്ധി ഉദ്ദേശിച്ച് അങ്ങുന്നു ചെയ്തതും ചെയ്യുന്നതും ആയ പ്രവൃത്തികളാണെന്നു കരുതുന്നതിൽ ഞങ്ങൾക്ക് അതിയായ പ്രീതിയുണ്ട്. ആ പ്രവൃത്തികൾ ഏതുവിധമാണെന്നുവച്ചാൽ, അങ്ങയുടെ എന്നും ഒരുപോലെ സ്വതഃസിദ്ധമായ അനുകമ്പയോടുകൂടെ സദയം അറിവുവർദ്ധനക്കായി ചെയ്യുന്ന സ്വന്തം അദ്ധ്വാനത്തിലും സമർത്ഥന്മാരായ പല ഇതരജനങ്ങളുടെ വിലയേറിയ സഹായത്താൽ മഹാരാജാവുതിരുമനസ്സിലെ പ്രജകളുടെ ഹൃദയത്തിൽ ഔന്നത്യസ്ഥിതിയിലെത്തിട്ടുള്ള സ്വരാജ്യചരിത്രം, പുരാതനസ്ഥാപന ഏർപ്പാടുകൾ, വിവിധതരത്തിലുള്ള കെട്ടിടസ്വഭാവം മുതലായ വിഷയങ്ങളിൽ സ്വരാജ്യാഭിമാനം ജനിപ്പിക്കുന്നതിനാലും ആകുന്നു.

ഇന്ന് അങ്ങേക്കായി സമർപ്പിക്കുന്ന മംഗളപത്രങ്ങൾ നാനാഭാഷകളിലായതുകൊണ്ട് അവയുടെ പ്രകൃതം ഭേദപ്പെട്ടിട്ടാണെങ്കിലും അവയുടെ താല്പര്യം എല്ലാററിലും ഒന്നുതന്നെയാകുന്നു; ഓരോന്നും മുഴുവൻയോഗത്തിന്റെ പ്രതിനിധിയുടെ നിലയിലാണ് സംസാരിക്കുന്നത്. ഓരോന്നിലും ഈ സഭയ്ക്കു കാരണഭൂതമായ സംഭവത്തിൽ ഞങ്ങൾക്കുണ്ടായിട്ടുള്ള അപാരമായ സന്തോഷത്തേയും പ്രീതിയേയും ഏതാണ്ടു പ്രദർശിപ്പിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ടെന്നും അങ്ങയുടെ ഭാവിശ്രേയസ്സിന്നും ഐശ്വര്യത്തിന്നും ഞങ്ങൾ ആശംസിക്കുന്നുണ്ടെന്നു സ്മരിപ്പിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ടെന്നും വിശ്വസിക്കുന്നു.

M. Manorama Press, Kottayam.

ERRATA SLIP.

Page 156,	line	9	for	*Dharma-Sastras*	read	*Dharma-Śāstras*
,,	,,	20	,,	*drisṭam*	,,	*driṣṭam*
,,	,,	32	,,	*translation*	,,	*transliteration*
,,	,,	32	,,	ञ	,,	च
Page 157	,,	1	,,	others[1] of	,,	others[1] ; of
,,	,,	6	,,	*Bhiksu-sutras*	,,	*Bhikṣu-sūtras.*
,,	,,	7	,,	*Nata-sutras*	,,	*Naṭa-sūtras*
,,	,,	18	,,	*Vāsavadatta*	,,	*Vāsavadattā*
,,	,,	21	,,	(*yamasabhiya*)	,,	(*yamasabhīya*)
,,	,,	23	,,	*Devāsura,*	,,	*Devāsura*
,,	,,	23	,,	*Agnikāsyapiya*	,,	*Agnikāsyapīya*
,,	,,	24	,,	*Śyenakapotiya,*	,,	*Śyenakapotīya,*
,,	,,	24	,,	*Indrajananiya*	,,	*Indrajananīya*
,,	,,	29	,,	Pānini	,,	Pāṇini
,,	,,	31	,,	Risi	,,	Riṣi
,,	,,	37	,,	Chhagati	,,	Chhagali
,,	,,	39	,,	Āruṅi Tāṇḍya	,,	Āruṅi, Tāṇḍya
,,	,,	41	,,	Paniga	,,	Paiṅga
Page 158,	lines	2&3	,,	Yudhisthira	,,	Yudhiṣṭhira
,,	line	8	,,	(Vyākhyana)]	,,	(Vyākhyāna)]
,,	,,	9	,,	Vyākarana	,,	*Vyākaraṇa*
,,	,,	10	,,	*Vajapeya*	,,	*Vājapeya*
,,	,,	15	,,	*Ṣātvaṇaṭvikam*	,,	*Ṣatvaṇāṭvikam*
,,	,,	15	,,	*Nātānātikam*	,,	*Nātānatikam*
,,	,,	15	,,	[iv. 3, 66-67].	,,	[iv. 3, 66.67]
,,	,,	16	,,	(adhyayas)	,,	(adhyāyas)
,,	,,	23	,,	Aistika	,,	Aiṣṭika
,,	,,	23	,,	Lastly	,,	Lastly,
,,	,,	29	,,	55,	,,	55.
Page 159	,,	11	,,	ganās	,,	ganas
,,	,,	18	,,	mantrās	,,	mantras
,,	,,	33	,,	Sāktatāyhna	,,	Sākatāyana
,,	,,	35	,,	1, 17, 43, 160 ; etc.]	,,	1. 17. 43. 160 ; etc.]
,,	,,	35	,,	130,	,,	130.

Page 160,	line	4	for	being according	read	being, according
,,	,,	5	,,	*Vārtikas*	,,	*Vārtika*
,,	,,	7	,,	*Saunagās*	,,	*Saunagas*
,,	,,	28	,,	Ākhyānās	,,	Ākhyānas
,,	,,	29	,,	Ākhyāyikās	,,	Ākhyāyikas
,,	,,	30	,,	Taithiriya	,,	Taittirīya
Page 161	,,	16	,,	bringing according	,,	bringing, according
,,	,,	33	,,	*chhatram*	,,	*chhātram*
,,	,,	35	,,	necessaries.	,,	necessaries
Page 162	,,	5	,,	Some when	,,	Some, when
,,	,,	5	,,	lamps	,,	lamps,
,,	,,	26	,,	examples the	,,	examples, the
,,	,,	26	,,	*Kumāri Dāksāḥ*	,,	*Kumārī Dāksāḥ*
,,	,,	27	,,	Daksa	,,	Dakṣa
,,	,,	28	,,	Bhiksā-manava	,,	Bhikṣā-mānava
,,	,,	32	,,	*Ghrita-Randhiyas*	,,	*Ghrita-Raudhiyas*
,,	,,	32	,,	(the Randhiyās	,,	(the Raudhiyas
,,	,,	32	,,	*Kambala-Chārāyani*	,,	Kambala-Chārāyanī
Page 163	,,	3	,,	*Brihadāranyaka Upanishad*	,,	*Brihadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*
,,	,,	6	,,	*Māhabhāsya*	,,	*Māhabhāṣya*
,,	,,	7	,,	*Saujana-sātaka*	,,	*Yaujana-sātaka*
,,	,,	8	,,	*(yojanasatādabhiga-manamarhati)*	,,	*(yojanaśatādabhi-gamanamarhati)*
,,	,,	10	,,	*Varni*	,,	*Varnī*
,,	,,	11	,,	*Brahmachari*	,,	*Brahmacharī*
,,	,,	14	,,	Śiksaka	,,	Śikṣaka
,,	,,	30	,,	*Aikanyika,**	,,	*Aikānyika,**
,,	,,	38	,,	विपरीतोचाररूपम्	,,	विपरीतोच्चारणरूपम्
,,	,,	39	,,	one of pronunciation	,,	as one of pronunciation.
Page 164	,,	1	,,	*Pañchakodhitah*	,,	*Pañchakodhītah*
,,	,,	8	,,	perfectly	,,	strictly
,,	lines	14&15	,,	dis-tinguished	,,	dis-tinguishes
,,	line	16	,,	*(Sampatham Pathati)*	,,	*(Sampātham Pathati)*
,,	,,	18	,,	*Siddhanta-Kaumudi*	,,	*Siddhānta Kaumudi*
,,	,,	29	,,	(adhitya)	,,	(adhītya)
Page 213	,,	42	,,	one	,,	are

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The
Quarterly Journal
of the
Mythic Society

Vol. XII.] JANUARY, 1922 [No. 2

THE INFLUENCE OF ORIENTAL LITERATURE ON THE WEST.

A Paper read before the Mythic Society.

By Dr. Walter Eugene Clark, Ph.D.

(Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Chicago.)

I have confined myself in this paper almost entirely to the old Sanskrit Literature and have left out of account almost entirely the vernacular literatures of the last hundred and forty years. This period deserves careful study from the point of view of Comparative Literature. Oriental Literature both old and new is claiming constantly increasing interest in the West, but this period falls outside my range of detailed study as a Sanskritist.

I hope that you have not been misled by my title into thinking that you would hear of Tagore and of the present. If so, it is your own fault for expecting a Sanskrit Professor to deal with topics of current interest.

Some western critics of the East quote Kipling's

"Oh, East is East, and West is West, and never the Twain shall meet,
Till earth and sky stand presently at God's great judgment seat,"

but omit the qualification of the next two lines, shrug their shoulders, and murmur with a sigh of resignation:

"We give thee thanks that we are not as the rest of men." It seems to me, however, that the difference between the average Oriental and the average Occidental is really very little greater than that between the temperamental Platonist and the temperamental Aristotelian, between the conservative and the radical, or between the modern mind and the mediæval mind. There is undoubtedly, on the average, a fundamental difference of attitude towards life; but who is to decide which is absolutely right and which is absolutely wrong? Even in the West there are many who possess the Oriental attitude, although they are in the minority, while in the Orient there is a minority which possesses the Western attitude. The social forms of the East differ much from the social forms of the West, but intellectually there is no more difference between a good Oriental mind trained in the average Oriental thought and a good Western mind trained in the average Western thought than there is in the extremes of Western thought itself. When the growing spirit of internationalism leads to a sympathetic effort at understanding, and when, on both sides, the spirit of education is broadened so that it aims at more than technical training and provincial pride in established systems, it will be seen that East and West are not separated by any impossible mental gulf.

"There is neither East nor West, nor Border, nor Breed, nor Birth,
When two strong men stand face to face, tho' they come from the ends of the earth."

The average man in the West does not understand the best things in Eastern life and thought, but I have found also that the average man in the East has just as great a misunderstanding of the best things in Western life and thought. Each clings to a narrow, provincial pride in some one established system which he confidently and unreflectingly believes to be the only possible and the only logical one. Both forget that we are only experimenting with life and have reached no absolute norm. I have no patience with narrow dogmatism of belief or practice whether it be Western or Eastern.

To the Oriental the most of life is an adventure in which the unknown plays a very large part. Man is only partially master of his life and of events. The powers of nature in the tropical East are too great to be fully controlled by him; his attitude towards them is a very modest one. He feels himself an integral part of nature and does not make very persistent efforts towards a complete control of his environment. The average Oriental is like a child in an enchanted garden where curious things keep happening, where anything may happen. He does not meet the unexpected with complaints, peevishness, and curses, as something which has no right to happen in his orderly universe. He enjoys keenly, more keenly even than the Westerner, but he

does not quite understand what is going on around him, and this large element of incomprehensibility preys on his mind; he wonders what it all means. His thoughts are chiefly directed towards this unknown rather than towards the process itself. In the modern West the unexpected does sometimes happen, but the mind is centred on such parts of the process as are normal and expected. The average man lives a very conventional life, largely shielded from the caprices of natural forces which are more regular and on a smaller scale in the West than in the East. He seeks persistently to control and master his environment. As Matthew Arnold puts it: "Man must begin, know this, where nature ends." Man is not regarded as an integral part of nature; he is a special and privileged creation, "creation's crown." In the West the thought of the supernatural plays a small part in life. In the East the thought of the supernatural is constantly present as a powerful, potent force in the lives of men.

One attitude makes for the Romance, the other for the Novel. Since there will always remain an element of the unknown in spite of the development of science, so in the West too there will always be room for the Romance although that tendency will always be weaker than in the East. Recently the weakening of the bonds of an extreme classicism and of a narrow, puritanical theology has been bringing us to a strong reaction towards Eastern Romanticism, which has already played a large part in the development of European Romanticism of the early nineteenth century. The thought of the East is marked by a strong love for the Universal and Ultimate. Speculation is directed towards the ends of life rather than towards the means of life. So the present may be treated lightly and fancifully. It is due to no mere chance that all of the great religions, without exception, have been Oriental in origin.

Until less than two centuries ago India was as highly developed industrially as any country in the world, but the development of industry was never as bold and masterful as that of the modern West. The achievements we are so proud of are entirely due to the last few generations. The past civilization of Europe owes much more to the past civilization of Asia than Asia has owed to Europe, and in spite of the present superficial current in the other direction, I doubt whether the converse is destined to be permanently true in the future. The two continents may eventually strike a balance. The Japanese with amazing rapidity have been adopting certain Western things to their own ends, but their basic attitude has not been changed. The last fifty years of Japanese history have, perhaps, never been equalled by fifty years in the history of any nation in the world. The Chinese, who have tremendous racial vitality are slowly and patiently waiting and learning. They

will take many Western things but with careful discrimination. In India the British are accomplishing little more than the Romans did in Britain. Influence of a practical kind, an impetus to a more advanced culture there will be as there was from Rome in Britain, but, and I emphasize the but, it will surely be turned into different channels and shaped into new forms. The essential nature of the people has not been fundamentally changed. I doubt if it will be in the future.

Modern Internationalism is not altogether a new conception. Alexander the Great, perhaps was the first who had the great dream. After his conquest of Persia and his romantic invasion of India in the fourth century B.C. he decreed that there should be interchanges between cities, and that people should be transferred out of Asia into Europe, and conversely out of Europe into Asia to the end that the two great continents, by interchange of good offices, might become homogeneous and established in mutual friendship. His premature death and the strength of nationalistic forces swept aside his efforts. But the thought has continued and the day is slowly approaching when, in spite of temporary set-backs, some modification of it must be adopted, unless the population of Asia is doomed to vanish before Europeans as has the population of many of the south sea islands and as have the American Indians; and this possibility is infinitely remote, for the great Asiatic civilizations are too strong, too sure of themselves to be destroyed completely or to give up completely and uncompromisingly all of their own ideas and practices.

India has been the land of fables, of romance, of wonders all through the ages from the time of Ktesias the Greek, who lived for many years at the Persian court at the end of the fourth and the beginning of the third century B.C., and who gave to the West the first lengthy description of Oriental marvels, down into modern times—and something of the glamour still continues. Europe and Asia have never been completely cut off from each other. There has always been much travel, much commercial intercourse, much interchange of ideas between the two continents. There was much greater freedom of motion in the old world than we in the pride of our railroads and steamships think possible. The truth must have been much more extensive than the slight structure we are able to rear on the few facts which chance has spared to us. Yet history in its reconstruction of the past must not go far beyond this very fragmentary evidence, for beyond it there is nothing to control individual caprice. However, many writers, and very reputable ones too, entirely close their eyes to these larger possibilities and argue as though we were in possession of all the facts.

Indian literature gives us very little which can help to clear up the problem of literary borrowing. We have in India a literature of tremendous

extent ; but historical works are almost entirely lacking. The chief interest of the Brahman priests, and of the Buddhist and Jain monks, was religious, and with few exceptions all the preserved early literature was composed by these men. Accurate worldly knowledge was useless for the purpose of reaching religious goals. But we are beginning to realize that India has had much thriving, objective, worldly life as well as world-renouncing religions and philosophies. The men who did travel by land or voyage by sea, and the number of such men was very great, did not write literature and had no thought of posterity. Some of their stories have been preserved, but with the addition of many marvellous elements, and with the background of a religious moral which minimizes the descriptive element. If the Hindus had had more regard for posterity, if they had possessed a historical sense like that of the Greeks and Chinese, our whole attitude towards many periods of ancient history, and towards the problem of intercourse between East and West would have to be changed enormously.

A few months ago I stood on Borobudur in Java. It is one of the marvels of the East. Of all the buildings I have, as yet, seen in the East the following have made the greatest impression on me: (1) The temples or rather the tombs at Nikko in Japan ; (2) two of the Buddhist temples in Kyoto ; (3) the Altar of Heaven and the Temple of Heaven in Peking ; (4) the Borobudur ; (5) the Taj Mahal at Agra.

As I stood on Borobudur my mind went back for a thousand years and I saw around me Hindu kings and Hindu people. For a thousand years before that, Indian ships, thousands of them, had been sailing to Java and Indo-China. The whole design and most of the wonderful workmanship of Borobudur is Indian. Up the Mekong river above Saigon in French Indo-China is a still greater monument, with not quite the same delicacy of execution and restraint of feeling. This too is Indian in design and execution.

In Northern India I stood on the Tope at Sanchi and my mind went back to Java. Sanchi was a place almost unknown to c temporary fame. It must have been overshadowed in size if not in workmans by hundreds of other buildings. Of them hardly a vestige remains to pr e Indian energy and greatness of design and execution. A great cyclone swep over the land ; hardly one stone has been left on another of the greatest works of the old Indian architecture. In Java I received a much better idea of what Northern India must have been in the distant past. But little of the old Indian greatness remains for the eye, little of Indian energy and objective daring. Imagination alone can reconstruct something of it from chance fragments.

To most people the word India suggests only a depressing social system and a negative, pessimistic religion and mysticism. That was not always so.

But a heavy cloud of lethargy and stagnation has settled over the land as though the people had sunk into a drowsy half-slumber.

One of the oldest forms of literature, perhaps the oldest form, is the folk-tale or Novelle. Folk-tales are found all over the world. They are not the peculiar property of any one race. They are even earlier than myths. They are universally human in their scope and application, so that practically the same story, with differences of local colour, may be told in a hundred different parts of the world. They are short episodes dealing with some one event. They are full of magic and of marvels, for magic and marvels were close to the primitive mind, as in later days they were, and still are close to the popular mind. At first they lacked a strong moralizing element. Like primitive man they were unmoral, not moral or immoral. Especially important among these folk-tales are the animal stories. Primitive man ascribed human attributes to animals, and even to inanimate objects. Nowhere in the world have such folk-tales, animal stories, fables, apologues, etc., received such development as in India. At a comparatively early date, four or five centuries before the Christian era, Buddhism added to them a strong moralizing element, and this sententious note continued through all of the later literature, Buddhist, Hindu and Jain alike. Such stories or collections of stories were handed down for centuries by oral tradition, but in India they received a literary development earlier than anywhere else. The preserved literature of such folk-tales is enormous, and the critical treatment of it is just beginning. In the West the literary development of the folk-tale was relatively feeble, and its study was almost entirely neglected until the brothers Grimm (in 1822) made their collection of Kinder and Hansmärchen. They were scorned as being uncouth, as being unworthy of scholarly attention and of the printed form. Since then the collection, and printing, and study of folk-tales has gone on very rapidly and has become a separate and important branch of literary study. The tales and fables of a people give us a delineation of prevalent modes of thinking, a picture of their feelings, tastes, and habits which is often not to be obtained in any other way. They have entered into and deeply influenced all later forms of literature, and cannot be neglected in any serious study of literature.

The next type of literature to which I would call your attention is the Romance. This is close to the folk-tale, is in fact a derivative of it, but with the addition of love as the prevailing theme. The folk-tale is short, the Romance is a much longer and more sustained composition, but at first the Romance was made up of rags and tatters of episodes, each episode being really a separate story. The episodes were loosely held together by the love theme. There was no central plot, no orderly evolution or development;

only a string of marvellous adventures full of supernatural elements and of tragical and farcical incident. Later the Romance became more orderly in structure, and, as society developed, Religion, Chivalry and other social ideals came into prominence. Yet fancy, caprice, and freedom from the limitations of merely human experience always remained. Such Romances developed in India and Greece at approximately the same period, the early centuries of the Christian era, and were characteristic of the mediæval and early modern period in Europe.

The novel was not developed strongly until the eighteenth century. It is marked by a close adherence to normal human experience. Imagination takes the place of fancy. The narrative is a sustained one, and the parts are closely knit together. At first it dealt chiefly with external incident ; later it contained itself more and more with the internal psychological development of character rather than with external movement. Yet many of our best sellers continue to be novels of external movement. The story of the novel might very easily be true in normal human life. The romance could not. This type of literature is characteristic of modern Europe. It was not developed in India.

The influence of India on Western literature has been almost entirely confined to folk-tales and romances or to drama and lyric which is romantic in character. In the case of the novel the influence has been from the West to the East. Novels of the Walter Scott type have been especially influential. Romances and Folk-Tales are still popular in the West, but only for entertainment and amusement. They do not form the staff of our literary life. Literature has developed more serious purposes. India needs a great development of the novel and of more serious literature in the vernaculars, literature in which imagination and intellectual criticism will predominate instead of capricious fancy and uncritical tradition.

In any discussion of the influence of the East upon the West we must distinguish carefully between literary tales and romances, and oral stories. In the case of the former it is possible to control their spread and influence with some accuracy, at least so far as the documents have been preserved. The latter it is impossible to control. Oral tales may have spread as far and have had as great an influence as literary works, but there is no way to control and estimate their spread and influence accurately. Stories which agree in almost every detail are found all over the world among tribes which, so far as historical evidence goes, could never have been in communication with each other. As yet no unanimity of opinion has been reached as to just what constitutes the cogency of a parallel, just what makes it necessary for us to conclude that a particular story has been borrowed by one people from another.

The first investigators supposed that all folk-tales were relics of a primitive Aryan mythology, common to all the Aryan peoples before the migrations of the various tribes. Anthropology has shown that folk-tales and myths were not the peculiar property of the Aryans. However in the first enthusiasm of discovery our Indian Rig Veda was hailed as the earliest literary product of the human race, as going far back towards the Garden of Eden and a golden age of primitive simplicity. It was thought that the old Aryan myths were based on various phenomena of nature, such as sunrise, dawn, storm, thunder, lightning, etc., that they were created by poets struck with awe at the wonders and goodness of nature. As Max Müller phrased it : " The dawn was to them that unknown land from whose impenetrable depths life ever newly flashes forth. The dawn opens to the sun her golden gates, and while her gates thus stand ajar, eyes and hearts yearn and struggle to peep beyond the limits of this finite world, the thought of the unending, of the undying, of the divine awakens in the human soul." The sponge of anthropology has now erased these rosy dawn tints. But it is certain that everything in nature was personified, and that stories were made to explain natural phenomena in human terms. It was conceived by early investigators that from these poetic descriptions of natural phenomena the natural phenomena themselves faded away, that the similes, metaphors and allegories were misunderstood, that the epithets were taken literally and became proper names, that the original meanings of the words were forgotten, that the myths developed in various ways into folk-tales among the different peoples after their separation. Folk-tales were all regarded as being the last echoes, or to change the simile, as detritus or terminal moraines of the great glacier of mythology. At present, however, no one supposes that folk-tales are all based on myths. It is now generally recognized that folk-tales are even older and more primitive than myths. Folk-tales are found among peoples which do not possess a well-developed mythology.

Then came the theory that all European folk-tales originated in the East, especially in India, and spread from the East to the West in a comparatively recent historical period. They were supposed to have spread first to Persia, then from Persia to Syria, Palestine, Bagdad, Damascus, and Byzantium. From these places it was supposed that they were taken to Western Europe chiefly through the mediation of Byzantine culture, of the Crusades and of pilgrimages to the Holy Land, and through the mediation of Spain when the Jews and the Arabs had developed a splendid civilization. The Arabs and the Jews were supposed to have played a very prominent part in the diffusion of the eastern stories. Also much emphasis was laid on the roving character of the mediæval monks. Their peregrinations are amazing.

This element has never been studied carefully enough. The Indian theory of the origin of European folk-tales is still insisted upon in its entirety by some scholars. Others deny that it has any validity at except for a few groups of literary stories. The truth, as usual, lies somewhere between the two extremes.

Thirdly, with the development of Anthropology came the theory of the polygenesis of folk-tales. The assumption that the human mind tends to work in precisely the same way under similar conditions led to the conclusion that stories which coincide even to the most trifling details might have originated independently in several different parts of the world. Adherents of this theory tend to disregard all the evidence which proves a close intercourse between East and West. The magic word polygenesis becomes an Open Sesame which saves the student from all the vexatious labor of hard historical investigation. We tend too much to mark off our studies of literature and civilization into separate compartments, and to defend zealously each compartment from any taint of outside influence.

Some stories are doubtless echoes of myths. Many stories were carried from the East to the West in written form or orally. Many stories, even though they show a remarkable agreement in details, have independent origins. No one theory furnishes the whole explanation. As I shall proceed to show in a moment there is absolute proof that several important literary collections of stories went from the East to the West in written form. Undoubtedly other collections spread from India to Persia, and thence to the West, but the Indian original and the Persian translation or adaptation have been lost. In a few cases we have certain evidence that such a loss has taken place, that such a Persian translation or adaptation did actually exist. The undoubted element of truth in the theory of polygenesis makes it hazardous to lay too much emphasis on oral tradition or to ascribe definite western stories to definite lost collections; but all the historical evidence must be exhausted before we take recourse to the easy phrase "independent origin."

One of the most important criticisms of the theory that European folk-tales are all of Indian origin is that of Bédier, in his book on the French Fabliaux. About one hundred and forty-seven French tales in verse have been preserved from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. These seem to reflect in a literary form popular oral stories. Of these one hundred and forty-seven Bédier traces five or six in Greek and Latin literatures, and about eleven in Oriental literatures. All the others seem to be French in origin, to have developed independently of the Orient. Bédier's results may be taken pretty much as they are, for the present, perhaps even to the assumption that some of the eleven which show close parallelism to Oriental stories are to be

explained by the theory of polygenesis. But it must be emphasized that his conclusions are at present only provisional and that they apply only to this particular group of stories. It is not valid to accept it as universally applicable to other groups. Bédier had a very accurate knowledge of the French stories, but his knowledge of Oriental literature, especially that of India, is very narrow. Moreover his knowledge of the historical background, of the rapidly accumulating evidence for commercial and cultural intercourse between East and West is narrow and inadequate. He is too prone to give the very hazy answer polygenesis to everything that seems to challenge French originality. He tends to argue as though we had all the facts concerning such commercial intercourse and such historical background.

However, such additional oriental stories as may eventually be found among the Fabliaux may not change his general result in any radical way. We must admit the polygenesis of folk-tales, yet we must not be contented with that as a final answer until we have exhausted the historical evidence for intercourse and borrowing. Any accurate estimate of the magnitude of oral tradition may always be beyond our reach. Perhaps at present no more than one in ten European folk-tales can with plausibility be traced to definite oriental sources. But I must emphasize the words *at present*. The careful study of such tales Western and Eastern has only just begun. Even so much influence, one-tenth, is significant and worthy of careful study.

The same criticism applies to the famous book of Rohde *Du grieschische Roman* which defends the Greek romance and folk-tale, except in a few insignificant details, from any suspicion of contamination from Oriental sources. Rohde had a profound knowledge of the Greek romances, but his knowledge of Indian literature and its problems is very limited, and he lays much too little stress on the accumulating evidence for an extensive and vital intercourse between the East and the West. His dating of our Indian stories, like that of Bédier, is much too late. There were many early vernacular works in Prakrit, collections of tales which have been entirely lost. A few of the most famous have been preserved in later Jain and Buddhist and Sanskrit versions. The study of these has hardly begun. In the study of this problem there is no room for such utterances as have come from some classicists who feel that they must defend the classics from any suspicion of outside taint: "the illegitimate pretensions of Indian philology" "the Greek imagination was so rich in itself that there was no necessity for borrowing from outside." Classicists and Orientalists must learn to see that their scholarly interests are similar, not antagonistic. Each group of scholars can give valuable help to the other. In some ways Hellenism may have had important influence on the East. I do not speak of that problem here, because we have at present no

certain evidence in the ancient and mediæval periods that any European literary works exerted a deep influence on India.

To approach more closely to some of the particular problems :—

We have a collection of animal stories current under the name of Æsop. According to tradition Æsop was a Greek slave in Samos in the sixth century B.C. Plato tells us that Socrates occupied himself during the last days of his life in prison by turning into verse some of the fables of Æsop. No old collection has been preserved. We have a collection in Greek by Babrius (of uncertain date, perhaps of the first or second century A.D. for he is not mentioned by writers until the third century A.D.), and in Latin by Phaedrus of the first century A.D. and by Avianus of about the fourth century A.D. It is significant that Babrius lived in the East, in Syria, where the fables first seem to have acquired popularity. Babrius and Phaedrus merely give fables which were current in their day under the name of Æsop. There is no guarantee at all that the fables given by them go back in their entirety to Æsop. Such collections became very popular as school books. The most famous and influential collection is that made in the thirteenth or fourteenth century A.D. by the Byzantine monk Planudes. The Æsop of Planudes is strongly impregnated with elements from the eastern Bidpai-Panchatantra literature and from Indian books which had been translated into European languages before the fourteenth century. Some are to be traced back to Babrius and Phaedrus. Some are to be traced in the earlier Classical literature. The others may be early and may be Greek or Roman or they may not. There is no room for dogmatism on either side. A wide field of study is open for the investigation of all these so-called fables of Æsop and their relation to Indian animal stories. The first preserved animal stories in India date from the sixth or seventh century B.C., although they are very slight, and we have a large Buddhist collection dating somewhere between the fifth and third centuries B.C., many of them represented in sculptures which can be dated with certainty in the third century B.C. India at the end of the fourth and during the third century B.C. was as civilized and possessed as well governed a state as any country in the world. Western historians must change their attitude completely towards the India of the fourth and third centuries B.C.

Secondly, we have in Greek a series of Romances extending from early in the Christian era until well into the Byzantine period. Are these absolutely independent of the very similar Indian romances? No certain answer has yet been given. Again there is no room for dogmatism. For the period from the first century A.D. on there is ample proof of much intercourse between India and Greece and Rome, and India and things Indian exerted a

powerful influence on Greek and Roman minds. On the testimony of Pliny Rome did a yearly business with India of fifty-five million sesterces. The rage for oriental luxuries at Rome was tremendous. There were Greek and Roman settlements in Southern India, and many thousands of Roman coins have been found in India. There were many Indians in Egypt, and perhaps farther west. Indian embassies came to Augustus and to several of the later emperors. Our oldest known Indian romance dates from about the first century A.D. The original has been lost, but is preserved in three independent later adaptations. The Indian type with a frame story and Chinese-box formation of the somewhat incoherent separate stories is a type of continuous development in India. In Greece it crops up in the earliest romances, but is soon abandoned for the normal Greek epic narration. It is especially noticeable in the earliest one, *The Marvels beyond Thule* and in the *Aethiopica* of Heliodorus. The Orient plays a large part in the setting of the early Greek romances ; whether it exerted any formative influence is uncertain.

It has been much debated whether the Indian Buddhist books exerted any influence on the early canonical Christian Gospels. Again there is no room for dogmatism. At present the answer "not proven" must be given. But in the case of the many apocryphal Gospels of the second and third centuries A.D., in the case of the literature of the Gnostics and Neo-Platonists and other orientalizing sects the matter is very uncertain and needs a closer and more sympathetic investigation. There has been too much theological and partisan bias.

There is also the problem as to whether the later Greek drama exerted any influence on the development of the Indian drama. The answer at present is a negative one, but the question is not entirely closed.

Further, there is the problem of the relation of early Greek philosophy, especially that of Pythagoras, to the early Indian philosophy. The problem is still an open one, although most scholars are decided against any large Indian influence.

One of the most famous collections of Indian stories is the *Panchatantra*. This has a moral background, and consists almost entirely of animal stories, although it contains some others. In India we have many recensions of this work, but the original has been lost. The original is variously dated between the first century B.C. and the fourth century A.D. This was translated or adapted into Middle Persian (Pehlevi) in the sixth century A.D. This Pehlevi version has been lost, but it was translated into Syriac in the sixth century and into Arabic in the eighth century. From the Arabic it was translated into later Syriac in the tenth or eleventh century, into Greek in the eleventh century, into Hebrew in the twelfth century, into modern Persian in the twelfth

century, and into Old Spanish in the thirteenth century. The Hebrew was translated into Latin in the thirteenth century, and from Latin into German in the fifteenth century. The Latin was also translated into Spanish in the fifteenth century, the Spanish into Italian in the sixteenth century, and the Italian into English in the sixteenth century by Sir Thomas North, the famous translator of *Plutarch's Lives*. This famous book was an English translation of an Italian adaptation of a Spanish translation of a Latin version of a Hebrew translation of an Arabic adaptation of a Pehlevi version of an Indian original. There were fifteen editions of the German translation between 1485 and 1500 A.D. The book was probably read in Europe more than any other book except the Bible. The Bible itself is an Oriental book. We have westernized the person of Christ and his teachings. An inspection of the full genealogical tree of the *Panchatantra* shows that it was translated into practically every European language from Iceland to Italy, from Spain to Constantinople. It was translated into thirty-eight languages, in one hundred and twelve versions, in one hundred and eighty different editions. The Indian stories had gone through the hands of the Buddhists and had received a decided moralizing tone, although something of that may have been in the original. In Europe the stories were reworked, often much changed, and the morals turned into distinctively Christian morals. Probably the stories owe their remarkable spread not so much to the mere story interest in them as to their moral philosophy. For centuries our children in school have been taught as their first lessons in worldly wisdom ideas first expressed by heathen Buddhist or Hindu idolaters two thousand years ago in some lonely little village of India. Nothing in literary history is as remarkable as this. No other book in the world except the Bible has been translated into so many languages and spread so widely. All of this is not a matter of mere speculation ; it is a matter of history.

In the eighth century John of Damascus translated into Greek an Indian book of stories based on the life of the Buddha. This was eventually translated into some sixty different European versions, some of which went through several editions. This is the collection which goes under the name of *Barlaam and Josaphat*. Barlaam and Josaphat (the latter name is nothing but a reflex of the word bodhisattva, one of the designations of the Buddha) were made saints in the Christian Church. Some scholars still hesitate to accept the etymology given above, but the evidence is convincing to me.* Again the genealogical tree carries us back through Syriac and Arabic

* Though the legend of St. Josaphat bears a striking resemblance to that of Buddha it is by no means generally admitted that both legends refer to the same Personage; Vide *inter-alia* ; "du Brahmanisme et de ses rapports avec le Judaisme et le Christianisme," par Mgr. Fr. Laouenan, vol. I, p. 395, Pondicherry, 1884. [A.M.T.]

translations to a Middle Persian version of an Indian original. The motive of the caskets in Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice* is derived from this book through the medium of derivatives from the famous Latin book the Gesta Romanorum which contains many Oriental elements. The same is true of the fifteenth century English Morality Play called *Every Man* and of Chaucer's *Pardoner's Tale*.

A very famous collection of Christian allegories is the *Physiologus*, the first of a long series of Bestiaries. Nearly all of the imagery is taken from the animal world. It contains forty-nine stories, each one dealing with some particular animal, about which the most fabulous tales are told. It originated in the early second century A.D. at Alexandria. It exists in Syriac, Greek, Aethiopic, Armenian, and Latin, as well as in Old English, Old French, Old High German, etc. This collection, though of wide influence, has been studied less than any of the others I have mentioned, but it has long been suspected that it contained Indian elements. Within the last few years it has been demonstrated conclusively that several of the elements are derived from Eastern animal lore. One recent writer goes so far as to claim that it was practically all derived from some one lost Indian original. This conclusion, it seems to me, goes far beyond the present evidence, but Indian elements are contained in the work, and it is one deserving of much greater comparative study. When the Indian original and the Persian derivatives have been lost criticism is a matter of very great difficulty, for in the course of diffusion stories were very much changed and reworked.

It is significant that in the case of all of these collections the course of diffusion was the following:—first from Sanskrit or Prakrit into Persian; secondly from Middle Persian into Arabic; thirdly, from Arabic into Syriac and Hebrew; fourthly, the Hebrew usually gave rise to Latin and Old Spanish versions. Two fields of investigation at once suggest themselves. First, a more systematic study of Western Arabic and Syriac literature, and of the mediæval history of Syria and Palestine. Just how much came to Western Europe from Syria and Palestine through the agency of the Crusades, of Pilgrims, and of wandering monks? How much was transmitted through commerce with Byzantium and the Near East? Secondly, we need a more careful investigation of Old Spanish literature and of the Jewish history and literature of Spain. Jewish civilization reached its maximum in Spain about the tenth century A.D., and the Jews exerted great influence abroad. The mercantile instinct of the Jews brought them into close touch with the great Arabic civilization around the Mediterranean Sea. Their religion was closer to Islam than was Christianity and they served as intermediators between Christians and Muslims. There was much greater intercourse and inter-

change of ideas than we realize. Bagdad in the eighth and ninth centuries was the great centre of distribution for ideas from the East. The form of the digits which we call Arabic numerals are not Arabic at all. They are purely Indian. They were adopted by the Arabs from India in the eighth or ninth century and transmitted by them to western Europe. Chess went from India to Persia in the sixth century, and was transmitted by the Arabs to Europe, where it was widely known by the eleventh century. We have considerable evidence for a close connection between India and Bagdad during this period. Scholars were sent to India to study, and Hindu scholars were engaged to come to Bagdad, they were made to translate into Arabic Hindu books on medicine, philosophy, astrology, logic, politics, ethics, and mathematics. We have a long list of such Hindus in Bagdad and of such translations.

Early in the eighteenth century a wave of interest in oriental literature swept through Europe, especially France and England. Galland's translation of the *Arabian Nights* into French between 1704 and 1712 created a sensation and had a far-reaching influence. Translations of many other Persian and Turkish works followed. We have the testimony of trustworthy Arab writers, from as early as the tenth century, that the original Arabian Nights came to the Arabs from Persia, and in the last analysis from India. The last links in the chain are missing as neither the Indian original nor the Persian version has been preserved. Our present version was composed in Egypt in the fifteenth century, and has been thoroughly Mohammedanized and so much contaminated with Arab stories that little of the original Indian or the derivative Persian translation or rather adaptation remains.

Again at the end of the eighteenth century when Sanskrit became directly known to the West, when the first translations from the Sanskrit appeared, a renewed wave of interest in Oriental literature swept through Europe. The translations exerted a powerful influence on the growing Romantic movement, especially in Germany. There is need for a deeper study of Oriental influence on all of the different literatures of Europe during the nineteenth century. Schopenhaver and other philosophers were deeply indebted to Indian philosophical texts. Even our American Emerson owed something to them. No student of Romanticism in Europe can afford to neglect the influence of the East.

Even Chinese poetry has not been without its influence, especially in France. Chinese poetry is exerting considerable influence at the present time on some of the newer types of English poetry. Whether this is more than a passing fad cannot yet be determined.

The Classical tradition, important as it was during the Renaissance and the early modern period has now lost most of its value as a strong controlling

force, vital for the present generation. We have made use of what we needed and new crystallizations have taken place. The echo becomes fainter and fainter, and more and more scholastic in character. Newer needs have come into the foreground. The past can never be entirely restored. I do not mean to under-estimate the very great value of the classical heritage, but the future points elsewhere. The next great world movement, the next Renaissance, and another Renaissance will be needed before very long, will be due, I think, to the influence of the East on the West, and of the West on the East, each influencing the other more deeply than in the past. The East will receive a more practical, a fresher and more virile spirit, will become less fanciful and capricious, freer from old traditional forms social and intellectual, more interested in life as a process and in the control of environment. The West will become less aggressively materialistic, more inward in its culture. Much that has been done by the West has permanent value, but by no means all. Even if aggressive Western imperialism does ultimately prevail and completely dominate Asia, a possibility which I think is infinitely remote, still the study of Oriental tendencies of thought and of literature is a matter of present importance and is bound to become increasingly important in the future. If the East keeps its identity and takes part in the internationalism which seems to be drawing closer such a study is still more imperative.

The East has begun timidly to imitate the novel of the West, but Romanticism is too deeply ingrained in the Oriental to be completely obliterated. That note will always remain and will always be influential in the prosaic West. There is room for both tendencies of thought. There can be no question as to which is absolutely right and which is absolutely wrong. Such a discussion is utterly futile, such a question is wrongly posited.

Distance makes for simplicity and merges all contours into a flat picture. We realize the complexity of our problems at home, but tend to think of the problems of the East as simple. We think that the East is eagerly and thoughtlessly, and as a simple matter of course, giving up all its acquired experience and passively accepting ideas developed in an altogether different environment, under altogether different conditions. I assure you that such is not the case, that the East must be taken seriously.

PRIMITIVE RELIGION IN MYSORE.

(A paper read before the Mythic Society.)

BY MR. C. HAYAVADANA RAO, B.A., B.L.

THE study of primitive religion is of engrossing interest. Its relation to Brahmanism and its later off-shoots is not the only point worthy of study; primitive religion as such of the people who form the vast bulk of the population of the State is in itself deserving of closer attention than it has so far received. I do not think that the materials for such study have been brought together as yet. No doubt there is something worthy of note in the Census Reports of Mysore for the past three decenniums. Mr. Nanjundaiya's monographs on the *Castes and Tribes of Mysore* also contain valuable information. But these sets of publications almost exhaust the sources of our information. Mr. Rice's *Gazetteer of Mysore* contains some remarks on the subject, but even the latest edition of that work dates back to 1897 since when many new facts have been brought to light both in this State as well as in the adjoining British Districts of Madras and Bombay Presidencies. The subject thus still awaits investigation. This almost neglected field of research should be tackled by some of our members. In putting forward the few facts I have been able to gather, I have been impelled more by the idea that some one should point the way to others than by the desire to exhaust the subject. That is an ambition that is hardly possible of realization. So vast is the subject and so few have been the workers that there is enough elbow room to many who could command the requisite time and patience. I have at various intervals of time travelled through the State and its outlying areas and in what I am going to mention I have laid under contribution not only notes gleaned from my old MSS. but also from the published writings of other labourers in the field. I have attempted to correlate the facts and tried to group them up in an intelligible manner which, I trust, will be helpful to those who may desire to take up this promising field of research.

Scarcely any evidence exists of the Religion, if any, of Paleolithic Man in the State. Of Neolithic Man, however, a nascent fetichism may, as in the other parts of the world, be predicated because of the objects found buried with his remains. These objects show that at this period men believed in a happy future life of eating and drinking when children would need their playthings and men their weapons and customary implements. Pre-historic stone circles may be of religious significance but as suggested by Professor Hopkins,

"they may be without religious bearing." No gap in time exists in Southern India between the Neolithic and Iron ages, the people of the latter age being doubtless direct descendants of the former. How far the people of the Neolithic Age influenced the religion of their descendants of the Iron Age is not yet definitely ascertained. It is possible that the foundation of the religion of the people of the Iron Age should be sought for in that of those of the Neolithic Age. Perhaps, Iron Age people continued in the belief of a future life as they certainly continued the burial usages of their predecessors. For instance, the burial usages of most of the primitive tribes, including the Irulas, Sholagars, Todas and other castes and tribes strangely resemble those of Neolithic Man. Similarly the sculptured cromlechs and other memorial stones we find set up throughout the length and breadth of the State, in fact over the greater part of the Southern India, is evidence of this perpetuation of the old belief. However, we cannot, unless we knew the exact causes, be too sure in matters of this kind. It is best to avoid generalizations of a far reaching character in this domain, as the necessary data for any definite opinion are lacking. A genuine pre-historic survey may enable us hereafter to understand more clearly the beliefs of primitive man in Southern India.

The pre-Dravidians, whom a large number of writers have identified with the jungle tribes and castes, exhibit religious beliefs and tendencies which deserve some attention. How far they are indebted for these to their alleged ancestors, the people of the Paleolithic times, it is altogether impossible to define. The Irulas, for instance, still construct stone circles ; they also worship fetiches in the shape of water-worn stones under the shade of trees ; and they revere also their totem animals. On the last of these a word may be usefully added, the more so as totemism is common to most castes and tribes in the State. How far were the later Dravidian tribes indebted for this to the pre-Dravidians is not clear. It is possible from the wide prevalence of totemistic belief that the tribes forming the Dravidian race had already developed totemistic beliefs before they came into contact with the pre-Dravidians. However that may be, it is inferable that the reverence the pre-Dravidians paid to their totem animals and plants was the result of that belief in spirit life common to most primitive races all the world over which is thus described by Fraser :—"On the principles of his rude philosophy the savage who slays an animal believes himself exposed to the vengeance of either its disembodied spirit or of all the other animals of the same species whom he considers as knit together, like men, by the ties of kin and the obligations of the blood feud and therefore as bound to resent the injury done to one of their number. Accordingly the savage makes it a rule to spare the life of those animals which he has no pressing motive for killing." Crocodiles are

animals of this sort. They are only found in hot countries where, as a rule, food is abundant, and primitive man has therefore no reason to kill them for their rough and unpalatable flesh." Again, he writes:—"Thus the primitive worship of animals assumes two forms, which are in some respects the converse of each other. On the one hand, animals are respected, and are therefore neither killed nor eaten. Totemism is a form of this worship, if worship it can be called, but it is not the only form, for we have seen that dangerous, useless animals, like crocodiles, are commonly revered and spared by men who do not regard the animal as their totem. *In both forms of worship the animal is revered on account of some benefit, positive or negative, which the savage hopes to receive from it.* In the former worship, the benefit comes either in the positive form of protection, advice, and help which the animal affords the man, or in the negative one of abstinence from injuries which it is in the power of the animal to inflict. In the latter worship, the benefit takes the material form of the animal's flesh and skin."

Was Totemism, then, the earliest form of religion known to man? This question has been widely discussed but cannot be gone into here in any detail. It should suffice to say that it is still a matter largely of conjecture. Mr. F. B. Jevons, who has written at some length on the subject, thus sums up the position:—

"The sacrifices offered to Jehovah by the Jews point back not to polytheism but to a low form of monotheism, in which each clan that offered sacrifice worshipped but one God, though that God was conceived in the form of the animal or plant which was sacrificed. This brings us to the question whether totemism, that lowest form of monotheism, is the earliest form of religion; and for the answer to that question we are reduced to conjecture."

Mr. Jevons argues also, that since of spiritual things the knowledge comes by inward intuition, not by means of inference, deductive or inductive, so it is quite possible that a revelation of monotheism may have been made to primitive man.

This brings us to the origin of totemism generally. Sir J. G. Fraser's theory on the subject has been widely accepted and all that is possible here is to state it very briefly. It is well known that one of the earliest forms of human society is the grouping of men in tribes or clans, of which every member is a kin to the other, either by descent, real or imaginary, from a common stock or by the fiction of the blood covenant. These groups may be allies or may be enemies *inter se*; and the killing of any member by a hostile group creates a blood feud between the tribes. But upon the totemistic hypothesis every species of animal is also regarded by man as a tribe friendly or hostile, and in choosing an ally he naturally prefers some species that possesses super-

natural powers. Every animal of this chosen species is a member by kinship of the human tribe; and every tribesman becomes a blood relation not only of the beast but of the God incarnate within him who is thus the ally and the protector of the tribe—that is to say, its totem. From these aboriginal roots, theorists on the subject have traced the growth of all the widespread conceptions regarding the worship of animals and plants, the sanctity of certain species, the sacred feasts, and the whole order of sacrificial rites by slaying and eating victims. "The mere existence," writes Mr. Jevons, "of sacrifice is an indication of the former existence of totemism." Worship as an act in its rudimentary stage, he says, means "only the sprinkling of blood on the altar; the blood sprinkled is that of the totem animal, and the only object of the rite is to renew the blood covenant between the totem clan and totem species, and to procure the presence of the totem God. The idea of offering a sacrifice 'to' a God is a notion which can only be developed in a later stage of totemism, when on the one hand, the monolith has come to be identified with the God, and on the other hand, the God is no longer in the animal." In its primitive form the animal sacrifice and eating of the victim signified, we are told, a desire to assimilate with the flesh the supernatural powers of the sacred animal; the notion of the victim being eaten by the God was a later transformation of the original motive; and still later comes the idea of atonement, that one member of the tribe must die for the rest. Trees and plants were, like animals, adopted as tribal totems; and so, "it is to totemism that we owe the cultivation of plants as well as the domestication of the animals." "Trivial pretexts for slaughtering victims were frequently invented," until what was at first eaten as a communistic sacrament became afterwards consumed for less mysterious purposes, with a few pious ejaculations as the sole relic of the primordial taboo.

The Dravidians, if anything, perpetuated this belief in a spirit world in a more extended form. The vestiges of totemism we see still among them leads us to infer that at one time it was widely prevalent among them. The difficulty, however, is to trace how far they were influenced in these and other beliefs and ideas by the pre-Dravidians. Can it be that they evolved these independently themselves? Might it not be that they partly developed them? These are questions that continually arise in the discussion of the development of Dravidian religion. Our knowledge in this respect is so meagre that it would be wrong to make any wholesale generalizations. In fact Tiele was so impressed with the inadequacy of our knowledge of Dravidian religion that he purposely left out the Dravidians and a few others, such as the Mundas and Sinhalese, in his genealogical classification of religions. Since his time, no doubt, some progress has been achieved in investigation work but we are

hardly yet in a position to affiliate the Dravidian to any of the well-known families of religions. The same uncertainty that marks the Dravidian origins is to be found in regard to the sources from whence the Dravidian religion derived its root ideas. From wherever derived, the beginnings of Dravidian religion must be traced, as Dr. Caldwell has pointed out, to a belief in spirits and a fear of the evils which they inflict. With morality this religion has little or no connection, and its doctrine of immortality consists almost entirely in the representation that the earthly life is continued elsewhere, while of the doctrine that men will receive judgment hereafter according to what they have done, only the first beginnings are to be traced in it. There is no priesthood attached to it and those who act as priests do not belong to any hereditary or exclusive class. At ordinary times the head of the family, or sometimes that of the community, officiates. This spirit worship is universal among the Dravidian tribes and castes in Southern India, though it must be added it is most conspicuous in those parts—notably South Canara and the adjoining areas of the Mysore State, Malabar, Tinnevelly and Travancore,—where the Dravidian population has been least affected by extraneous influences. The spirits worshipped are many and various and usually take the form of Goddesses, who are worshipped as "mothers". Among the most favourite Goddesses of Mysore are the following:—Mariamma (or Maramma) often styled simply Amma, or in the honorific plural Ammannavaru, the Goddesses of small-pox; Uramma; Durgamma; Sunkalamma; Maheswaramma; Pujamma; Annamma; Uddalamma; Kokkalamma; Sukhajamma; Yellamma; Gangamma; Mastamma; Manigamma; Hindamma; Hosekera Amma; Halasamma; Mutyalamma; Patalamma; Masinamma; Hunasamma; Kalamma; Mathangamma; Madduramma; Chandamma; Kariyamma; Sidabamma; Akkamma; Mallalamma; Huliamma, etc. Every village in the State has its own Goddess. According to some, Goddesses are characteristic of a race of agriculturists and the Dravidians being agriculturists worshipped only the "Mother". Others have suggested that this form of worship is indicative of the old maternal filiation which at one time prevailed more extensively in Southern India than now. It should suffice here to state that Divine motherhood, like the kinship of men and Gods in general, was to the Dravidian, as to the old heathen Semite, a physical fact and the development of the corresponding cults and myths laid more stress on the physical than on the ethical side of maternity, and gave prominence to sexual ideas which were never edifying and often repulsive. Especially was this the case when the change in the law of kinship deprived the mother of her old pre-eminence in the family and transferred to the father the greater part of her authority and dignity. This apart, spirit

worship has with the Dravidian principally taken a double form. On the one hand, he believes that each village is surrounded by evil spirits who are always on the watch to inflict diseases and misfortunes of all kinds on the unhappy villagers; they look everywhere, on the tops of palmyra trees, in caves and rocks, in ravines and chasms; they fly about in the air, like the birds of prey, ready to pounce on any unprotected victim. On the other hand, there are the village deities, whose function it is to ward off these evil spirits and protect the village from epidemics of cholera, small-pox or fever, from cattle disease, failure of crops, childlessness, fires, and all the manifold ills that flesh is heir to in the villages. But these village deities themselves are persons of most uncertain temper, very apt to fly into a rage and inflict the very ills it is their business to ward off. So the villager spends his life in constant terror of his unseen enemies and friends alike. "The sole object of the worship of these village deities is", says Bishop Whitehead, who has devoted special attention to their study, "to propitiate them and avert their wrath. There is no idea of praise and thanks-giving, no expression of gratitude or love, no desire for any spiritual or moral blessings. The one object is to get rid of cholera, small-pox, cattle disease or drought or avert some of the minor evils of life. The worship, therefore, in most of the villages only takes place occasionally..... but the general attitude of the villager towards his village deity is "Let sleeping dogs lie." So long as everything goes on well .....it seems safest to let her alone. But when misfortune comes, it is a sign that she is out of temper, and it is time to take steps to appease her wrath." While the evil spirits are conceived to be everywhere, each village deity who is believed to combat their malevolent influences is a local Divinity distinct from every other and with the name of mother or a special name of her own; she has a holy place where she lives; and she is represented by an image, a shapeless stone or some other symbol. The last of these is often nothing more than a mere post or a pot of water. In some places she has a shrine built for her but it is no pretentious structure. More often she is invoked, when her presence is needed, in a temporary hut or a pandal specially put up for the occasion, as during the prevalence of an epidemic. People pay their respects at the proper times to both sets of divinities, though the worship of evil spirits as such is restricted to special occasions. Annual feasts are held in connection with the village deities and at these the sacrifice of animals is a prominent item. Sacrifice, indeed, is considered the most fundamental doctrine of this cult, the "mother" being satisfied with nothing less than a living animal. The ceremonies in connection with their feasts generally extend over several days on the last of which the animal is sacrificed. Buffaloes, sheep, goats and pigs are

among the animals usually offered. The details greatly vary and are not infrequently of a somewhat revolting character. One of the celebrants will carry the entrails of the victim in his mouth and round his neck. Another will drink the blood from the severed neck till he has drained the carcass. The proceedings often close with the transportation of the image of the Goddess in what is called a car to the confines of the next village, there to be dealt with in a similar manner.

A typical festival of one of these Goddesses—that of Maheswaramma of Bangalore—is thus described by Bishop Whitehead :—

An annual festival is held in this village after harvest. A special clay image is made by the goldsmith from the mud of the village tank and a canopy is erected in a spot where four lanes meet, and decorated with tinsel and flowers. The goldsmith takes the image from his house, and deposits it with the canopy. The festival lasts three days. On the first day the proceedings begin at about 2 p.m. the washerman acting as a Pujari. He is given about two seers of rice, which he boils, at about 5 p.m., brings and spreads before the image. Then he pours curds and turmeric over the image, probably to avert the evil eye, and prostrates himself. The villagers next bring rice, fruits and flowers, incense and camphor, and small lamps made of paste of rice flour, with oil and lighted wick inside, called *aratti* and very commonly used in the Canarese country. One *aratti* is waved by the head of each household before the clay image, another before the shrine of Maheswaramma, another before a shrine of Muniswara about two furlongs off, and a fourth at home to his own household deity. During these ceremonies music is played, and tom-toms are sounded without ceasing. After this ceremony any Sudras, who have made vows, kill sheep and fowls in their own homes and then feast on them while the women pierce their cheeks with silver pins, and go to worship at the shrine of Maheswaramma. At about 9 p.m. the Madigas, who are esteemed the left-hand section of the outcastes, come and sacrifice a male buffalo, called Devara Kona, *i.e.*, consecrated buffalo which has been bought by subscription and left to roam free about the village under the charge of the Toti, or village watchman. On the day of the sacrifice it is brought before the image, and Toti cuts off its head with the sacrificial chopper. The right foreleg is also cut off and put crosswise in the mouth, and the head is then put before the image with an earthen lamp alight on the top of it. The blood is cleaned up by the sweepers at once to allow other villagers to approach the spot, but the head remains there facing the image till the festival is over The Madigas take away the carcass and hold a feast in the quarter of their village. On the second day there are no public offerings but each household makes a feast and feeds as

many people as it can. On the third day there is, first a procession of the image of Maleswaramma, seated on her wooden horse, and that of Muniswara from neighbouring shrine round the village. They stop at each house, and people offer fruits and flowers but no animals. At about 5 p.m, the washerman takes up the clay image of the Grama Devata, goes with it in procession to the tank accompanied by all the people to the sound of pipes and tom-toms, walks into the tank about knee deep and there deposits the image and leaves it.

It is remarkable that only Goddesses are fond of these animal sacrifice. Almost the only male deity in whose honour buffaloes are sacrificed in the State is Hiriyanna, one of those specially worshipped by the Agasas.

We may here note the offering of the buffaloes as a sacrifice to Mara in Manjarabad. Mr. Elliot describes thus the ceremony followed there :—

> "A three or four year old (male) buffalo is brought before the temple of Mara, after which its hoofs are washed and unboiled rice thrown over its head, the whole village repeating the words Mara Kona, or in other words buffalo devoted to Mara. It is then let loose and allowed to roam about for a year, during which time it is at liberty to eat of any crops without fear of molestation, as an idea prevails that to interfere with the buffalo in any way would be sure to bring down the wrath of Mara. At the end of that time it is killed at the feast held annually in honour, or rather to divert the wrath of Mara."

Discussing the origin of these village deities, Bishop Whitehead remarks that "the system is as a whole redolent of the soil and evidently belongs to a pastoral and agricultural community." He attributes to it a totemistic origin, which he develops at length in his book in the *Village Gods of South India*. His argument is rather difficult to summarise, but the main idea underlying the ceremony according to him, is a desire to seek communion with a supernatural power. He traces the essential belief involved in it "to that particular form of animism, which is known as Totemism." As a person not belonging to clan, became a member of it by being made a partaker of its blood, so when the human clan desired to strengthen its position with one or another of the many animal clans and surrounded and impressed itself upon its imaginations as animated by supernatural power, the animal clan became the totem of the human clan. The spirit that was supposed to animate the totem clan became, in a certain sense, an object of worship. One great purpose of the worship then was, says Bishop Whitehead—"to cement and strengthen the alliance between the human clan and the animal clan, and the way in which this was

done was through some application of the blood of the totem or by, in some way, coming into contact with that which was specially connected with its life, or by partaking of its flesh. The object then of killing a member of the totem tribe becomes clear. Under ordinary circumstances it would be absolutely forbidden and regarded as the murder of a kinsman ; but on special occasions it was solemnly done in order to shed the blood and partake of the flesh, and so strengthen the alliance. The blood is regarded as the life, and when the blood of a member of the totem tribe of animals was shed, the life of the totem was brought to the spot where it was needed, and the blood could be applied to the worshippers as a bond of union, and then the union could be still further cemented by the feast upon the flesh by which the spirit of the totem was absorbed and assimilated by its human kinsmen. The object of the animal sacrifice, therefore, was not in any sense to offer a gift, but to obtain communion with the totem spirit." Now if we apply this theory of sacrifice to the sacrifices offered to the village deities in South India, we see that the main ceremonies connected with them at once become intelligible; the various modes of sprinkling and applying the blood and the different forms of sacrificial feast were all originally intended to promote communion with the spirit that was worshipped. In the same way, even such a ceremony as the wearing of entrails round the neck and putting the liver in the mouth acquires an intelligible meaning and purpose. The liver and entrails are naturally connected with the life of the animal and the motive of this repulsive ceremony would seem to be an intense desire to obtain as close communion as possible with the object of worship by wearing those parts of its body that are specially connected with its life. So too, this theory explains, adds Bishop Whitehead, why the animal sacrificed is so often treated as an object of worship. In the case of buffalo sacrifices, the buffalo is paraded through the village decked with garlands and smeared with turmeric and *Kunkuma* (aniline powder) and then, as it passes by the houses, people come out and pour water on its feet and worship it. But why should this be done if the animal sacrificed is regarded as only a gift to the Goddess? When, however, we realize that the animal sacrificed was not originally regarded as a gift, but as a member of the totem tribe and the representative of the spirit to be worshipped, the whole ceremony becomes full of meaning.

In connection with the festivals of certain Goddesses, certain ceremonies of a notable kind are observed. One of these is the well-known SIDI (or hook-swinging) in honour usually of the Goddess Mari. At most temples erected in her honour there is a sort of gibbet erected opposite her doors. At the extremity of the cross-piece or arm, a pulley is suspended through which a cord passes with a hook at the end. The man who has taken a vow to

undergo this self-mortification places himself under the gibbet and a priest then beats the fleshy part of the back until it is quite benumbed. After that the hook is fixed into the flesh thus prepared, and in this way the man is raised in the air. After swinging for the prescribed time, he is let down again, and as soon as his wounds are dressed, he returns home. This festival is now somewhat in disfavour being one of those not countenanced by public opinion. A more popular festival is that of fire-walking. It is observed by those who have taken a special vow to do so. For this purpose, they kindle a large pile of wood, and when the flames are extinguished and all the wood consumed, they place the glowing embers in a space about twenty feet in length. The man who has taken the vow stands at one extremity with his feet in a puddle expressly prepared for the purpose, takes a spring and runs quickly over the burning embers till he reaches another puddle on the other side. In spite of these precautions very few, as one can imagine, escape from the ordeal with their feet uninjured. Others whose weak limbs do not permit of their running over the hot embers, cover the upper part of the body with a wet cloth and holding a chafing-dish filled with burning coals pour the contents over their heads. This is called a fire-bath. Other kinds of self-torture are also practised. One of these consists in piercing a wire of silver or some other metal through the two jaws between the teeth. Thus the bridled mouth cannot be opened without acute pain. Many people have been known to travel a distance of twenty miles with their jaws thus maimed and remain several days in this state, taking only liquid nourishment or some clear broth poured into the mouth. "I have seen," says the Abbé Dubois who devotes much space to these customs, "whole companies of them, men and women, condemned by their self-inflicted torture to enforced silence, going on a pilgrimage to some temple where this form of penance is specially recommended." There are others, again, who pierce their nostrils or the skin of their throats in the same way. The Abbé saw, he says, one person with his lips pierced by two long nails, which crossed each other so that the point of one reached to the right eye and the point of the other to the left. "I saw him," he adds, "thus, disfigured at the gate of a temple consecrated to the cruel Goddess Mariamma. The bleeding was still trickling down to his chin." The exact significance of these and similar practices is not known but that they are of very ancient date cannot be doubted. Torture by suspension is now practised in a modified form by the Cheyenne among the North American tribes; formerly, according to Hopkins, it was undoubtedly the custom with the worshippers of the sun; the object of the whole rite being to perpetuate the life of the tribe as a dramatic representation

of creation or rather re-creation to renew life in answer to the prayer of him who has vowed the rite in the name of the tribe. "It is the great (Medicine) spirit that answers the prayer." How far some such belief may underlie the hook-swinging festival it is imposible to say. As regards fire-walking, which prevailed in China at one time, it has been suggested that it is a spring time festival and that it preserves the memory of "a fire or sun-cult." It would seem that the effigies burned in the bonfire at spring and mid-summer are held to be the images of the spirit of vegetation; and that the customs of leaping over and driving cattle through the fire are intended to secure for man and beast a share of the sun's vital energy and to purify them from evil influence.

Ancestor worship is found among the generality of Dravidian castes and tribes. The underlying idea in connection with it seems to be that, if the spirit of the departed is not at certain fixed times properly attended to, it will do harm.

At the foundation of a village it is the practice to erect at some point of the ground two or three large slabs of stone, which are called *Kari Kallu* or *Kari Kallu*. These are also objects of worship, and are generally painted in broad vertical stripes of red and white. An annual ceremony is held in connection with them, when all the cattle of the village are presented before the stone. This is supposed to avert cattle disease. For the same purpose, a sylvan God, named Katama Raya, is worshipped under the form of an acute conical mound of mud, erected on a circular base, also of mud. At a little distance it looks not unlike a large ant-hill. This rude symbol may often be seen in a field in the open, with a bunch of wild flowers adorning the apex.

Another deity or class of deities is known by the name of *Bhuta*, a word which is taken to mean demon, but may relate to *Bhutayi*, Mother Earth, or the occult powers of Nature. It is generally worshipped under the form of a few naturally rounded stones, placed together under a tree or in a small temple and smeared with oil and turmeric paste. To avert calamity to the crops from the *Bhuta*, a rude figure of a man is sometimes drawn with charcoal on the ground at the angles of the field, and a small earthen vessel containing boiled rice and a few flowers broken over it. An offering is also made in some parts by a man walking round the skirts of the field, at every few steps casting grains of seed into the air, shouting out at the same time *Oh Bali*!

The various objects of superstitious awe described above may perhaps be classified as spirits of the air and spirits of the ground. The former include the disembodied ghosts, those of the dead for whom the prescribed ceremonies have not been performed. The spirits of the air seem inclined to lodge in

trees and burial places and by them human beings are sometimes possessed or bewitched. Charms consisting of a bit of metal engraved with a numerical puzzle in squares are suspended round the necks of children to protect them against this danger, as well as against the "evil eye" and similar charms are inscribed on stones called *Yantra Kallu*, often erected at the entrance of villages. The spirits of the ground guard hidden treasure, breach tank bunds, undermine houses, stop the growth of the crops, and perform a variety of other malignant operations. All have to be propitiated according to their supposed influences and disposition.

There are temples specially dedicated to the worship of *Bhutas*, *Deyyas* and *Pisachas*, and as the Abbé Dubois has pointed out there are some districts where this particular form of worship holds exclusive sway. Most of the habitants of the long range of hills which bounds Mysore on the west acknowledge no other deities than these *Bhutas*. Each family has its own *Bhuta*, to which it offers daily prayers and sacrifices in order that it may preserve its members from the ills which the *Bhutas* of their *enemies* might bring upon them. *Bhuta* images are to be found all over these hills. Sometimes they are idols with hideous faces, but more often they are merely blackened stones. Every *Bhuta* has its own particular name. Some are thought to be more spiritful than others and these are naturally most widely worshipped. All these *Bhutas* delight in sacrifices of blood. Buffaloes, pigs, goats, cocks and other living animals are frequently slain in their honour and when rice is offered to them it must be dyed with blood. They do not disdain to accept offerings of intoxicated liquors, or even flowers, provided they are red.

Worship of fetiches is common. Every caste or tribe worships its particular caste or tribal fetich, the potter his wheel, the fisherman his net, the farmer his plough, and so on. What the fetich is to its owner, the idol is for the group. The idols in the small temples dedicated to the Goddesses and worshipped by particular castes in groups, must be treated as something more than fetiches. They probably mark the transition from fetich worship to idol worship. A fetich seems to be turned into an idol when carved to represent the Goddess herself.

Phallic worship was probably known to the Dravidians. By some it has been taken to indicate the existence in a bygone age of the matriarchate.

Tattooing, so far as it is now practised, does not possess any religious significance. It is nowhere shown to be in honour of a God or Goddess. But that it did possess some religious or social meaning may, perhaps, be inferred from the fact that it is still ordinarily restricted to girls and that the first tattooing is usually followed by a ceremonial dinner and that the paternal aunt of the girl receives a new cloth as a gift on the occasion. The religious idea

seems to have decayed, if not died out, and tattooing may now be said to be practised almost entirely for decorative purposes.

Serpent worship is also common. The serpent figures as a totem among several castes and tribes. The cobra in particular receives special veneration. It is not usually killed, and, if it is, it is usually burnt with due ceremony. It is worshipped on special occasions, an ant-hill being considered as its usual abode. Serpent worship in India is of great antiquity. There is scarcely a village in Mysore which has not the effigies of the serpent, carved on stone, erected on a raised platform near the entrance for the adoration of the public. The Nagas, who frequently occur in ancient Hindu history, were, according to some, a widespread race of serpent worshippers and there is, according to Mr. Rice, every reason to believe that they occupied most parts of Mysore. Jinadatta, the founder of Humcha, married, it is said, a Naga Kanya, and the great serpent sacrifice of Janamejaya is said to have taken place at Hiremaglur. An inscription at Balagame, of the 11th century, bears at its head the half-human, half-serpent forms of a Naga and Nagini. The province, corresponding with the Shikaripur Taluk, said to have been ruled by the wise Chandragupta, was named Naga Khanda or Nagara Khanda. Some of the minor Royal lines in the West, such as the Sendrakas, the Sindas and the Senavaras claim Naga descent.

With the worship of serpent seems to be intimately associated that of trees, which again carries us back to the story of Eden and the mysterious tree of forbidden fruit. The stones bearing the sculptured figures of serpents near every village are always erected under certain trees, which are most frequently built round with a raised platform on which the stones are set up facing the rising sun. One is invariably a sacred fig, which represents a female, and another a margosa, which represents a male; and these two are married with the same ceremonies as human beings. The bilpatre (*agle marmelos*), sacred to Siva, is often planted with them. Whether the planting of topes, a term which in Northern India signifies a Buddhist STUPA, but here is applied to a grove of trees, had a religious origin or any connection with Buddhism is uncertain. It does not now seem to have definite relation to religion except as a work of charity. But particular trees and plants are held sacred to certain objects or deities, or are themselves regarded in that light. The Aswatha, or pipal, the sacred fig, is a common object of reverence as a sort of wishing tree. One on the bank of N. Pennar near Goribidnur called the VIDUR ASVATTHA, is said to have been planted by Vidura, the uncle of the Pandavas, and is visited by all the country round. It is built round with various shrines for protection and is believed to die. At Hunsur may be seen a large NEEM tree which is an object of

worship. The lower part is enclosed in a shrine and the branches are hung with iron chains. Out of the Jain temple of Padmavathi at Humcha is growing a sacred tree called LAKKE GIDA, said to be the same that Jinadatta tied his horse to as described in the account of that place. The *bilpatre* as above stated is sacred to Siva, while the *Tulasi* or holy Basil (*occymum sanctum*) is sacred to Vishnu and is grown on an altar in the court-yard of Vaishnava houses. The YEKKE (*aristolochia indica*) and the plantain are the subject of some curious rites. Connected apparently with tree worship is the regard paid to the Kakke or *Indian Laburnum*, which furnishes the central stake of the threshing floor, decorated at top with a little bunch of flowers.

The general object of the worship of trees and of serpents appears to be for the purpose of obtaining offspring. A woman is nearly always the priest, and women are the chief worshippers.

Animism is the name given to cover all this medley of superstitions which prevail among the primitive tribes in all parts of the world. These tribes are very vague in their religious ideas, but they all agree in the presence on the earth of a shadowy crowd of powerful and malevolent beings, who usually have local habitation in a hill, stream or patch of primeval forest and who interest themselves in the affairs of men. Illness and misfortunes of all kinds are attributed to their influence. There is also a general belief in magic and witchcraft. Wizards are employed to ascertain the cause of trouble and to remove it either by incantations and exorcism or by placating the offended ghostly being by a suitable sacrifice. Their services are also requisitioned when it is desired to ensure good crops, to cause an injury to an enemy or to ascertain the omens relating to some proposed course of action. These features of animism may be taken to be universal. They may sometimes be coupled with belief in a supreme GOD, usually fainéant an after life or metempsychosis; and the shadowy beings may sometimes be invested with definite powers and functions and provided with genealogy and bodily form. These are possibly later developments, and they are, in any case, far less universal. Professor Tiele describes animism in these words:—

"Animism is the belief in the existence of souls or spirits, of which only the powerful—those in which man feels dependent, and before which he stands in awe—acquire the rank of divine beings, and become objects of worship. These spirits are conceived as moving freely through earth and air, and either of their own accord, or because conjured by some spell, and thus under compulsion, appearing to men (Spiritism). But they may also take up their abode, either permanently or temporarily, in some object, whether lifeless or

living it matters not: and this object, as endowed with higher power, is then worshipped or employed to protect individuals or communities (Fetichism)."

In the language of the Indian Census Reports, Animism, however, is the name given to the category of beliefs, rites and superstitions to which are relegated all the pre-Hindu, or rather Pre-Brahman, religions of India.[1] The practical difficulty as Sir Edward Gait well remarks is to say at what stage a man ceases to be an animist and becomes a Hindu. The religions of India are not by any means mutually exclusive, and it does not by any means follow that a man gives up his inherited animistic beliefs because he seeks the help of a Brahman priest or makes offerings at a Hindu shrine. When he does this regularly he is labelled a Hindu. But as he adds the Hinduising process is a very gradual one, and it is extremely difficult to say at what stage a man should be regarded as having become a Hindu.

I have just indicated a few salient points connected with the subject of Primitive Religion. What I would suggest in concluding this paper is to appeal to members of the Mythic Society to make short excursions to the outlying villages and study primitive religion *in situ*. They should not shrink from learning even from the most unpromising village teacher. They should make why, wherefore and how their servants and seek interpretation of the things they see from the village folk. A little sympathy and a little interest on their part will unlock a stock of traditional lore from the country folk and their visit would have been amply repaid. I say this from personal experience, and I will add that investigators will find that what I suggest is a simple mode of gleaning information that will often tax the ingenuity of the most learned in the field of Ethnography.

ANCIENT HINDU EDUCATION AS REVEALED IN THE WORKS OF PANINI, KATYAYANA AND PATANJALI.*

BY RADHAKUMUD MOOKERJI, M.A., Ph.D., P.R.S.

In the present paper an attempt is made to collect the information to be derived from the Sûtras of Pāṇini, the Vārtikas of Kātyāyana and the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali regarding the ancient Hindu educational system which is described in its fulness in the Śrauta, Grihya, and Dharma Sûtras, and also in the Dharma-Śastras. The evidence of this early grammatical literature, which chronologically extends practically over the entire period of Sûtra literature as is commonly known, offers many points of interest and importance to the historian of Indian education. It may also be easily understood that on account of the inevitable and vital connection between the grammar of the standard language and literature of the country, and the established forms and usages of speech upon which it is based, grammatical works must always be a fertile source of social and political history, abounding in allusions to contemporary and pre-existing institutions, ways of life, and conditions of culture.

Pāṇini throws light on the literature of his times. Four classes of literature are distinguished. The *first* is that which is 'seen' (*dṛiṣṭam*) or revealed, *e.g.*, the Sāmaveda. Some of the 'seers' of the Sāmaveda are also mentioned, *viz.*, Vāmadeva [IV, 2, 7 and 9]. Kātyāyana and Patañjali add the names of Kali, Agni, Uśanas and Aupagava. The *second* is that which is proclaimed [IV, 2, 63; 3, 101 (*proktam*)]. To this class would belong the Veda or Chhandas works enounced by Tittiri, Varatantu, Khaṇḍika and Ukha to which Patañjali adds the works called Kāṭhaka, Kālāpaka, Mandaka and Paippalādaka [IV, 3, 101 (3)] after the names of those who enounced them. Pāṇini also mentions as belonging to this class of works by the Ṛiṣis like Kāśyapa and Kauśika; the

* *Vide* Q. J. M. S., Vol. X, pp. 318 to 330 for Ancient Indian Education as revealed in legal literature.

N.B.—I have made the following departures from the Royal Asiatic Society's system of translation. I have represented ऋ ri; च ch; छ chh and the anusvāra as n and all आ sounds as ā.

The bracketed number as in IV. 3, 101 (3) denotes the number of the Vārtika to the Sûtra of Pāṇini on which the gloss of Patañjali is cited.

Chhandas works of Śaunaka and others[1] of Kaṭha and Charaka; of Kalāpī and Chhagalī; and of the *direct* pupils of Kalāpi[2] and Vaiśampāyana. In this class are also included such *Brāhmaṇa*[3] and *Kalpa*[4] works as are enounced by the ancient sages, thereby excluding, according to Kātyāyana and Patañjali, the works of later sages[5] like Yājñavalkya and Sulabha. Lastly Pāṇini mentions as examples of this class of literature the *Bhiksu-sutras* as enounced or originally propounded by Pārāśarya and Karmanda as well as the *Nata-Sutras* as propounded by their founders mentioned as Śilālin and Kṛiśāśva. The *Bhiksu-Sūtra* means a collection of rules and precepts for bhīkṣus, ascetics (*i.e.*, men in the fourth Āśrama or stage of life) while the *Nata-Sūtra* means a collection of rules for actors. [iv 3, 101-111.] The third class of literature distinguished by Pāṇini is that which is "discovered" and not handed down by tradition [ii. 4, 21; iv. 3. 115; vi. 2, 14 (Upajñā)]. As examples of this class the *Kāśika* mentions the works of such original authors as Pāṇini, Kāśakṛitsna, Āpiśali and Vyāḍi. The fourth class of literature comprises the ordinary compositions of ordinary writers on any subject [iv. 3, 87 and 116]. As examples Patañjali mentions the books of *story* (Ākhyāyikā) such as *Vāsavadatta, Sumanottarā, Bhaimarathī* to which the *Kāśikā* adds Urvaśī. The *Kāśikā* mentions *mythological* works like *Soubhadra, Gaurimitra* and *Yāyāta*. In iv. 3, 88 Pāṇini refers to works on such peculiar subjects as the child's cry (*Śiśukrandīya*) or the court of Yama (*Yamasabhiya*) to which the *Vārtika* adds the works bearing on the wars between Gods and demons, such as *Devāsura, Rāksosuram*, and the *Kāśikā* adds the works called *Agnikāsyapiya, Śyenakapotiya, Indrajananiya* also mentioned by Pāṇini, and Pradyumnāgamanīya. Patañjali further mentions under this class the *kāvya* or poetical works of *Vararuchi* and the slokas known as *Jālūka* [iv. 3, 101 (3)]. Pāṇini also refers to slokas as eulogistic verses [iii. 1, 25], and to their author as *Śloka-kāra* [*Ibid.*, 2, 23]. There is also a reference to *Gāthās* [*Ibid.*], to a composer of mantrās [Mantrakāra] and to the author of Padapāṭha (Padakāra). Pānini

1. As 'others' the Kāśikā mentions Kaṭha, Śāṭha, Vājasaneya, etc., in the *gaṇa* list. The Śaunaka of this rule is taken by Goldstucker on the authority of Sāyana to be the Ṛisi who is supposed to be the author of the 2nd maṇḍala of the Rigveda as we now have it. Accordingly, since this maṇḍala is specified by Pāṇini as *prokta*, as distinguished from *dristi*, literature, it is to be regarded in Goldstucker's opinion as being later in Pāṇini's opinion than the other maṇḍalas of the Rigveda. The *Kāśikā* however takes Śaunaka as the reputed author of the Rik-Prātiśākhya which is thus considered as being anterior to Pāṇini.

2. According to the *Kāśikā* there are four such pupils of Kalāpī, *viz.*, Haridru, Chhagati Tumburu, and Ulapa, while there are nine of Vaiśampāyana, *viz.*, Ālambi, Palanga Kamala, Richāva, Āruni Tāṇḍya, Syāmāyana, Kaṭha and Kalāpī.

3. *E.g.* Those of Bhāllnva, Śātyāyana, and Aitareya [Kāśikā].

4. *E.g.* Those of Paniga and Aruṇaparāja [*Ibid.*]. Patañjali also mentions *Āsurīyakalpa* [iv. 1, 19, (2)].

5. The *Kāśikā* adds the Kalpa work of Āśmaratha.

also mentions a Mahābhārata [vi. 2, 38] and the followers of Vāsudeva and Arjuna [iv. 3, 98]. Yudhiṣṭhira also is mentioned [viii. 3, 95] while Patañjali mentions Yudhiṣṭhira and Arjuna as elder and younger brothers respectively [ii. 2, 34]. Non-ṛiṣi families of Vṛiṣṇi and Kuru are also mentioned [iv. 1. 114] as members of which Patañjali instances Vāsudeva, Vāladeva, Nākula, Sahādeva and Bhaimasenya. In addition to the above four types of Literature, Pāṇini mentions separately the literature of *commentaries* [iv. 3, 66 (Vyākhyana)] as examples of which Patañjali mentions the commentaries of *Nirukta* and Vyākaraṇa and also on *Kalpa* works, such as *Agnistoma*, *Rajasūya* and *Vajapeya*. Pāṇini refers to commentaries on Soma sacrifices (Kratu) and other sacrifices (Yajña) as examples of which Patañjali mentions *Pākayajñika*, *Nāvayajñika*, *Pāñchandanika*, *Sāptandanika*, *Śatandanika* [iv. 3, 68]. Commentaries on sections of Grammar alluded to by Pāṇini are mentioned by Kaśika as Saupa (on case affixes), Tairiga (on verbal affixes), and Kārta (on *Krit* affixes), also *Ṣātvanatvikam* and *Nātānātikam* [iv. 3, 66-67]. Pāṇini [*Ibid.* 69] refers to commentaries on chapters (adhyayas) of works of Riṣis, as examples of which the Kāśikā mentions *Vāsisthika-adhyāyā*, Vaiśvāmitrika. Pāṇini refers to commentaries on the verses or mantras on *Purodāśa* (sacred cake) as *Purodāsika*. He refers to the formations *chhandasya* and *chhāndasa* as commentaries on Chhandas. He refers to the commentaries called Brāhmaṇika, Ārchika, Prāthamika, Ādhvarika Paurascharaṇika, Nāmika, Ākhyātika and Nāmākhyātika, as also to commentaries of which the Kāśikā gives the names as Aistika, Pāśuka, Chāturhotṛika, Pañchahotṛika. Lastly he refers to commentaries on certain classes of works belonging to the category called Ṛigayanādi, which according to Kāśikā included a great variety of subjects such as Chhandobhāṣā, Chhandovichiti, Nyāya, Vyākarana, Nigama, Vāstuvidyā, Angavidyā, Kṣatravidyā, Upaniṣat, Śikṣā, etc. [iv. 3. 70-73.]

We thus see that Pāṇini was acquainted with a wide range of subjects religious and secular. He knew the *Rig-veda* [vi. 3, 55, 133 ; vii. 4, 39, etc.] and refers to its Pāda [vi. 1. 115, vii. 1. 57 ; viii. 1, 18, etc.], and Kramapātha [iv. 2, 61] while the division into Adhyāyās and Anuvākas was also known [v. 2. 60.] He also uses the word *chhanda* in the sense of metre [viii. 3. 94]. He knew the Sāmaveda [I, 2, 34 ; iv. 2, 7 and 60 ; v. 2. 59, etc.]. He knew also of a Yajurveda [ii. 4, 4, iv. 2. 60; v. 4, 77 ; vi. 1, 117 ; vii. 4, 37 ; viii. 3. 104, etc]. All the three Vedas are referred to in one Sūtra (iv. 3. 129) together with the schools or charaṇas based thereon. The Śākala Śākhā of the Rig-veda is also referred to [*Ib.* 128]. Regarding his knowledge of the Atharvaveda, there is no positive evidence as the word occurs only in the Gaṇās to the Sūtras or in the Vārtikas [see iv. 2, 38 and 63 ; iv. 3, 133, etc]. Nor do we know definitely whether the white Yajurveda was known to him because it was left to a

Vārtika [iv. 3, 105] to refer to its author, Yājñavalkya, as a comparatively later Ṛiṣi (probably a contemporary of Pāṇini, as I interpret the Vārtika) than those contemplated in the said Sūtra. It is also uncertain whether Pāṇini knew the Āraṇyakas on account of his rather significant omission to refer to that meaning in explaining the formation *Āraṇyaka* [iv. 2, 129]. The omission was left to be supplied by Kātyāyana. On this supposition the Upanishads as we have them now were not probably known to him, because these were developed out of the Āraṇyakas. Pāṇini mentions the word *Upanishad* only once, and that probably in the sense of a secret [i. 4, 79] (though the *Bālamanoramā* takes it to mean the literary work, *Vedāntabhāga*) but the word occurs in the gaṇās [iv. 3, 73 (in the sense of a literary work), and iv. 4, 12]. There is, however, no doubt that he knew of the *Brāhmaṇas* (ii. 3, 60) and *Kalpa* works and also of Sūtras [iv. 2, 65] which are interpreted to mean grammatical Sūtras by Kātyāyana and Patañjali. He definitely mentions Brāhmaṇa works of thirty and forty adhyāyās or chapters [v. 1, 62]. Lastly, he refers to works which are similar to the Brāhmaṇās and called Anu-Brāhmaṇās [iv. 2, 63] while there was something like the indexing of the mantrās for convenient reference at the time of sacrificial performances [iv. 4, 125-127] by different classes of priests which are also known to Pāṇini [v. 1, 135 and 136]. The range of secular Literature in Pāṇini's times seems to have been remarkably wide and varied, considering that he discusses grammatical formations connected with such subjects as those bearing upon the rules and practices of actors and bhikṣus or ascetics and upon the treatment of children's cries or the seasons [iv. 2, 64]* or fables and stories. [*Ib.* 102].

We notice a considerable advancement of learning in the subsequent ages of Kātyāyana and Patañjali. The advancement is shown in regard to both depth and width, *i.e.*, in the growth of the Literature bearing on the old traditional subjects and the growth of *new* subjects in the process of time. We have already cited above the evidence proving it. But there is some further evidence to be considered in that connection. For instance there is to be noticed a considerable growth of Grammatical Literature. Pāṇini mentions among his predecessors, Āpiśali, Kāśyapa, Gārgya, Gālava, Chākravarmana, Bhāradvāja, Śākṭatāyana, Śākalya, Senaka, Sphoṭāyana and also those authors designated by the collective appellation of eastern [ii. 4, 60; iii. 4, 18; iv. 1, 17, 43, 160; etc.] and northern Grammarians [iii. 4, 19; iv. 1, 130, 157;

*The growth of such a varied profane Literature as is indicated by these casual references inclines one to doubt the correctness of the supposition that such ancient religious texts as the Atharvaveda, the Āraṇyakas, the Upanishads, the Vājasaneyi Saṇhitā or the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa were unknown to Pāṇini. The matter requires to be carefully considered by competent scholars.

etc.]. To this list of names Patañjali, makes his own additions. In one place he mentions the four land-marks in the history of Grammar, *viz.*, those represented by the Schools of the four āchāryas, Āpiśala,-Pāṇini,-Vyādi,-Gautama [vi. 2, 36], the order of mention being according to a Sūtra, [the *Vārtikas* to ii, 2, 34] that of chronology. He mentions also grammarians of the school of the Bhāradvājīyas [iii. 1, 89 (1); iv. 1, 79 (1); vi. 4, 47 (1); *Ib.* 155 (1)] and *Saunagās* [ii. 2, 18 (1-4); vi. 3, 44 (1)] as also Kuṇaravāḍava [vii. 3, 1 (6)], Sauryabhāgavat [viii. 2, 106 (3)] and Kuṇi [Kaiyyaṭa's Gloss on i. 1, 75]. There is also an indefinite number of Grammarians designated under the words 'some' and 'others' (*Kechit* and *Apare*) [See Goldstucker's *Pāṇini* for some of these references]. There is also a reference to those who study or understand the Vārtika-sūtra and Sangrahasūtra*. Besides grammar, there is a number of other secular subjects mentioned. A person well-versed in the science of (augury from observing) crows is called *Vāyasavidyika*. Similarly, there are references to experts in sciences bearing upon cows (Gaulakṣaṇika) and horses (Āsvalakṣaṇika), upon interpretation of signs (Lākṣaṇika), upon dyes of lac (Lākṣika). There is a reference to a subject called *Anusū* (the meaning of which I cannot ascertain). Next, we have references to *Aṅgavidyā* (knowledge of lucky or unlucky marks on the body), *Ksatravidyā* (military science) or *Dhanurvidyā*, (the science of the bow, archery) and *Dharmavidyā* (Law). Patañjali distinguishes between *Ākhyānās* (Historical stories), *e.g.*, those connected with Yavakrīta, Priyaṅgu, Yayāti, and *Ákhyāyikās* (works of fiction) *e.g.*, those connected with Vāsavadattā, or Sumanottarā and refers to *Itihāsa* and *Purāṇa* [iv. 2, 60]. A Vārtika mentions Vyāsa whose son is named Sùka by Patañjali [iv. 1, 97]. The story of Kansa being killed by Kriṣhṇa is referred to by Patañjali as being very popular [iii. 1, 26 (6)].

Patañjali's was indeed an age of popular literature, of Ākhyānās, Ākhyāyikās, Itihāsas, Purāṇas, of recitations from the Epics of the Mahābhārata and Rāmāyaṇa [(Vālmīki being mentioned in the earlier Taithirīya Prātiśākhya (v. 36)], of homely slokas, of vocal and instrumental musicians, of actors and the like. The spread of popular education due to this growth of a vast and varied popular literature, may be inferred from one of the typical illustrations of Patañjali (in his gloss to Vārtika on ii. 4, 56). He there describes a dialogue between a grammarian and a coachman in which the latter gets the better of the former in regard to the accuracy of a gram-

*There was, indeed, a considerable growth of Vārtika literature of which we may distinguish three distinct and different strata: (1) The *kārikās* or Śloka-Vārtikas. (2) *Traditional* Vārtikās which end in the expression 'It is remembered' and (3) Opposition Vārtikās which dictate a rule in the style of the Sūtras.

matical formation. An extract from the dialogue will be interesting: A certain grammarian asked, "Who is the Pravetā (driver) of this chariot?" The Sūta (charioteer) answered: "Sire! I am the Prājitā." The learned grammarian said: "This word (Prājitā) is grammatically incorrect." The Sûta retorted: "The fool knows the rule (of Pāṇini) but not the iṣṭi ôf the teachers." The grammarian answered: "Oh how troubled are we by this *opposite* of a Sūta [*i.e. Duruta* = Dur+Vve (weave)+Kta = ill-woven,' to which the grammarian thinks *Sūta* is a cognate]" This answer provokes a stronger retort from the coachman who says: "You think that *Sūta* is derived from the root ve, whereas it is really derived from the root ṣū, to propel. If, however, you wish to use a correct term of contempt for me you must use the form, *Duḥsūta*".

We shall now consider the evidence regarding the conditions and regulations of education. The ceremony of initiation is referred to as *Âchārya-karaṇa* [i. 3, 36] and *Upanayana*. The sense of the latter term, according to Pāṇini, is that the teacher, by bringing according to religious rules the pupil unto himself, brings himself up as a teacher through instruction, whence the expression *Māṇavakam upanayate*. The *Bālamanoramā* cites an interesting verse defining an ächārya as one who, receiving unto himself (upanīya) a pupil, teaches him the Veda together with the Kalpas and Rahasyas.

Next we have certain expressions indicative of the relations between the teacher and the pupil. The same affix is applied to their relationship as to that of blood [iv. 3, 77 and vi. 3, 23]. The pupil is called a *Chhātra* [iv. 4, 62] because, as explained by Patañjali, the preceptor is like an umbrella, sheltering the pupil or covering his defects, or the pupil is like an umbrella maintaining his preceptor. The pupil must secure the affection of his teacher for the sake of his own welfare both here and hereafter. [Patañjali on iii. 1, 26 (15)].

All the well-known marks of pupilage are known to Pāṇini. The pupil is to live with his teacher (ante-vāsi) but there is also a reference to day scholars, the common mark of both classes of pupils being the carrying of the *daṇḍa* or staff [iv. 3, 130]. Another mark of the pupil is the bowl in his hand [i. 4, 84 (2)— *Kamaṇḍalu-pāṇim chhatram*]. The most important mark of the pupil was his going on begging rounds to approved house-holders for food and other necessaries. [Patañjali on i. 1, 56 (1)]. There were several pupils thus serving their common teacher, as indicated by the special term applied to the boarder pupils of the same school [iv. 3, 107 (*Satīrthya*). Special *Vratas* or vows of the Brahmachārin are also referred to (v. 1, 94) as well as the ceremony of Anupravachana [v. 1. 3].

We have also a glimpse into some of the regulations of the school. The

Achārya is stated by Patañjali to sit with sacred grass in his hand at a pure moment with his face towards the East and then commence teaching with great care [i. 1, 1 (7)]. The pupils reciprocated the treatment of their teacher. There is a reference to studious pupils working night and day [Patañjali on ii. 4, 32]. Some when they could not get oil for their lamps would even burn dried cowdung and study by themselves in an isolated corner by the light thereof, so zealous were they [Patañjali on iii. 1, 26 (2)]. There is also a reference to prescribed times and places of study [iv. 3, 71].

Unworthy pupils and teachers were not unknown. Some pupils found study too painful and difficult and abstained. Sometimes, the rough manners of a teacher might also repel them [i. 4. 26 together with Patañjali's gloss]. Sometimes, a pupil would not have the courage to face his teacher, who would rebuke and dismiss him for some offence committed [*Ibid.* 28] or a pupil would not have the patience to complete his full period of studentship and leave it prematurely for the life of ease of the house-holder without his teacher's permission, or the performance of the concluding purificatory bath. For such a person the standing contemptuous epithet was *Khatvārūdha, i.e.*, one who begins sleeping on a cot without being entitled to it by a completed studentship when he ought to sleep on the ground [ii. 1, 26 with Patañjali's gloss]. Sometimes, a pupil would change teachers and schools too frequently, in which case the contemptuous epithet, *Tirthakāka*, would be applied to him, because he is as fickle as a crow that does not stop long at a place of pilgrimage [ii. 1, 41 with Patañjali's gloss]. Other contemptuous epithets are contemplated in another Sūtra of Pāṇini [vi. 2, 69] with reference to an *antevāsin* and a *mānava* when they become pupils from reprehensible motives. As examples the *Kāśikā* mentions the term *Kumāri Dāksāḥ* which means those who study the works, or make themselves pupils, of Dakṣa for the sake of girls, and also the term *Bhiksā-maṇava* which applies to a person entering upon studentship for the sake of the proceeds from beggary it brings. Similar terms mentioned by Patañjali are *Odanapāṇiniyaḥ, i.e.*, those who become pupils, or study the work, of Pāṇini only for the sake of securing boiled rice, *Ghrita-Randhiyas* (the Randhiyās desirous of ghee) and *Kambala-Chārāyaṇiyas* (the Chārāyaṇiyas desirous of blankets) [See Patañjali on Vārtika 6 to i, 1, 73 and Kāśikā on vi. 2, 69]. Thus there was not always the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake and deviations from the ideal were so common or general that special epithets were evolved requiring grammatical explanations for their formation. Be it, however, noted that students pursuing studies for wordly advantages accruing therefrom earned a legitimate social opprobrium and this in a manner testifies to the strict insistence in ancient times upon the true ideals of studentship. Now-a-days most persons acquire know-

ledge because it brings *Odana* or *Ghrita* or *Kambalu* but escape the application of epithets expressive of social censure.

The *Brihadāranyaka Upanishad* mentions a famous teacher in the land of the *Madras* to whom came pupils from distant countries. We have an interesting confirmation of this evidence regarding the existence of such far-famed teachers in the *Māhabhāsya* [v. 1, 74 (2)] which explains the grammatical formation *Saujana-sàtaka* as the designation applying to a *Guru* whom pupils seek from distances of hundred miles (*Yojanasātādabhigamanamarhati.*)

Pāṇini gives evidence of the fact that studentship was open to all the three twice-born castes in the grammatical formation *Varṇi* which is explained as a general term for a *Brahmachāri* [v. 2, 134]. Patañjali mentions the gift of cows to the teacher [i. 4, 32]. He refers to a pupil having his father as his teacher [i. 4, 51].

Four terms are used to indicate the teacher, *viz.*, Āchārya, Guru, Śiksaka and Upādhyāya. It may be noted that the term Āchārya is reserved by Patañjali for application to the highest type of teacher, to an original thinker and master like Pāṇini, while the other three terms he uses with reference to the ordinary teachers.

There is some evidence available regarding the methods of study and instruction. These were, of course, necessarily determined by the character of the curriculum. Where only Vedic Texts were the subject of study, rotes learning was the suitable method. It is this method of study that Pāṇini refers to in his Sūtra (Śrotriyaṅśchhandodhīte) [v. 2, 84] which means that the Śrotriya is he who learns by heart the Chhanda- or Veda. Patanjali refers to 'reading aloud' and 'reading low' [ii. 1, 2, (7)]. Examinations in the recitation of texts seem to be contemplated in two Sūtrās of Pāṇini [iv. 4. 63 and 64] upon which Patañjali unfortunately does not comment, so that we have to depend upon the *Kāsika* for information on the point. The examinee who made a single mistake in the pronunciation of sacred texts was designated *Aikanyika*,* *i.e.*, pupil of one error. We have similar epithets based on the number of lapses thus committed which might be even twelve, thirteen and fourteen. These epithets which became so common and important as to deserve the notice of Pāṇini indicate that there were different grades or classes according to which the examinees were ranked in the order of merit on the results of their oral examination. In this connection we may also refer to a Sūtra [v. 1, 58] in which the practice of

* यस्याध्ययने नियुक्तस्य परीक्षाकाले पञ्चः स्खलितमयपाठ रूपमेकं जातं सऽभ्यते ऐकान्यिक इति । काशिका ॥ Bhattoji Dikṣita explains the mistake as विपरीतोच्चररूपम् *i.e.*, one of pronunciation.

learning by repetition seems to be alluded to. Thus *Pañchakodhitah* means 'what is studied five times' [Kâśikâ].

But rote-learning was not of course the only method of study. There were indeed various subjects of study in the learning of which memory played a far less important part than understanding. Pāṇini's grammar was itself one of the most conspicuous of such subjects demanding a most sustained exercise of the reader's reasoning faculty in comprehending the orderly evolution of a perfectly scientific system on the basis of a combined application of approved deductive and inductive methods. Thus the methods of both mechanical and critical study are explicitly referred to by Pānini in his Sūtra [iv. 2. 59].—*Tadadhite tadveda*—upon which the gloss of Patañjali is equally explicit. The term *adhite* in the *Sūtra* refers to studies which depend upon memory, *i.e.*, texts which have to be learnt by heart, while the other term *Veda* applies to studies depending upon the understanding. Patañjali distinguished a pupil who simply commits to memory texts without understanding their meaning (*Sampatham Pathati*) from one who elects studies that involve the exercise of intelligence. The *Bâlamanoramâ* (a commentary on Bhattoji Dikṣita's *Siddhanta-Kaumudi*) defines the technical term *adhyayana* as used by Pāṇini in the sense of the repetition by the pupil of the syllables in the order in which they issue from the lips of his teacher, while the term *vedanam* is explained as the knowledge of the meaning of the words heard.*

The currency of the two methods of study in times anterior to Pāṇini may be taken for granted. This is, indeed, proved by the very fact that it has formed the subject matter of a Pāṇinean sutra. We are not, therefore, surprised at the emphatic protest of Yâska against the method of rote-learning as generally applied to Veda study. He strongly condemns those who would make the vedic texts a mere matter of memory and not of an intelligent and critical study. In the words of Yaska [*Nirukta* i. 18]: "The person who is able only to recite the Veda (adhitya) but does not understand its meaning is like a post or a mere load-bearer; but he who understands the meaning will attain to all good here and hereafter, being purged of sins by knowledge. For the words that are simply memorised and not understood will merely *sound* when uttered, and not *enlighten*, just as wood, be it ever so dry, will not blaze if it is put into what is not fire." Thus, in Yâska's opinion, the words of the Vedic texts were not more important than their meaning, and hence the Vedas should be treated to both mechanical and rational methods of study. Yâska has also sought to discharge the responsibility of his opinion by composing a work which contributes towards a comprehension of the

* गुरुमुखादक्षरानुपूर्वीग्रहणमध्ययनम्। शब्दार्थज्ञानंवेदनम्

meanings of Vedic texts as distinguished from their proper pronunciation, which is the exclusive objective of the Prātiśākhya literature. It may be also supposed that this spirit of revolt against the excessive dominance of mechanical methods of study to which we owe the preservation of the sacred texts was due to the intellectual tendencies of the age towards critical thinking and philosophical speculation which culminated in the Upaniṣads and Āraṇyakas.

Pāṇini acquaints us with a variety of literary types. They may be inferred from the different classes of literature mentioned in his Sūtras, which have been already noticed. At their head is the *Ṛiṣi* whose literary work, as we have already seen, is not created or composed ("*Kṛita*") but 'seen', revealed, inspired. We have already noticed the names of some of the Ṛiṣis mentioned by Pāṇini. To those we may add the names of Praskaṇva, Harischandra [vi. 1, 153] and Maṇḍuka [iv. 1, 19]. The manner of the mention [*e. g.* iv, 3, 105] shows that the age of Ṛiṣis was long gone. Pāṇini has to take note of the distinction between *ārṣa* and *anārṣa* (non-ṛiṣi) literature [i. 1, 16.]. We have some Sūtras explaining formations that only apply to non-Ṛiṣis [*e. g.* iv. 1, 104 (*anṛiṣi*)]. Next comes the promulgator of original works. The works thus promulgated ('*Prokta*' and not *dṛiṣṭa* or revealed) might be Chhandas, Brāhmaṇa and Kalpa works. We have already noticed the authors of these three different classes of religious literature as mentioned by Pāṇini. Some of them might be *Ṛiṣis* [iv. 3, 103]. From the manner of Pāṇini's mention it is clear that the age of these promulgators was long past [iv. 3, 105], though there were still some later representatives of the class as noticed by Kātyāyana, *viz.*, Yājnavalkya and Sulabhā. The original works promulgated might also be in the domain of secular learning. Pāṇini refers to the originators of literature bearing upon ascetics (bhikṣus) and actors (*Natas*) as we have already seen. The third type of men of letters is the discoverer of original systems, who brings to light *new* knowledge as distinguished from the knowledge that is handed down [iv. 3, 115]. The fourth type was the ordinary author of ordinary works (which were neither *dṛiṣṭa*, nor *prokta*, but *kṛita*). Kātyāyana mentions the formation *Śāstrakṛit* [Vārtika to iii. 1, 85]. The fifth type was the commentator [see *Ante* for these references]. Thus Pāṇini practically refers to all possible varieties of literature and literary men that would at all be connected with one or other of the following heads, *viz.*, (*a*) *Inspired* literature, (*b*) *original* works connected with *traditional* literature, sacred and profane, (*c*) original works embodying *new* knowledge, (*d*) commentaries, (*e*) ordinary compositions. Besides these classes of authors, Pāṇini refers also to thinkers and teachers who might not be the authors of actual works themselves. Three

different types of philosophical thinkers are distinguished, viz., (1) The *Āstika* who believes in the life after death, (2) the *Nāstika* who has no such belief and (3) *Daistika*, a rationalist (according to the *Kāsikā*), or a fatalist, predestinarian (according to Bhattoji Dikṣita) [iv. 4, 60]. There are also two other references to the prevalence of similar beliefs [v. 2, 92; vi. 1, 49]. Besides thinkers and philosophers, Pāṇini mentions the teachers of the first rank who, though not themselves famous for any works of their own, were famous for the works of their pupils. Kalāpa and Vaisampāyana were teachers of this type whose discourses were so fruitful that they gave rise to different schools of thought, all within the domain of the subject-matter of those discourses. Each of the several pupils of those great instructors became the founder of an independent system; so vital and varied were the seeds of thought implanted in their minds [iv. 3, 104]. In this connection we may also refer to the *Brahmavādins* who, according to Kātyāyana, [Vārtika 2 on iii. 2. 78] *discoursed* on sacred texts, though they might not themselves be authors of independent works. There were also other educators of thought in the country. Pāṇini refers to the class of *Parivrājakas* or religious mendicants of the last āśrama or fourth stage of life who were also called *Maskarinaḥ* (vi. 1, 154). They were so called because, as explained by Patañjali, they preached thus to the people: "Perform ye no works (*i.e.*, sacrifices): Seek ye peace as the highest end." Thus these wandering preachers renouncing the world went about the country teaching doctrines which preferred the pursuit of inner peace as being more religious than the distracting performance of external ceremonies.

Pāṇini alludes to two classes of ascetics [iv. 4, 73], *viz.*, those called *āraṇyakas* who, according to the rules of their order, must dwell at least two miles away from human habitations, and those called *Naikatika* bhikṣus who are permitted to live in the vicinity of society [*Kāsika*; but, according to the *Bālamanoramā*, the *Naikatikas* do so in violation of the rules].

Thus the spread of learning was being promoted by the co-operation of various agencies, by books and men, by literature and instruction, by authors and teachers, by regular training and occasional discourses.

Pāṇini indicates the variety of institutions in the country through which its learning and culture were promoted. There were, firstly, of course the schools proper of the residential type, where the householder-teacher would regulate the life and studies of a number of boarder-pupils he could conveniently manage. But the precise character of the work of these schools cannot be properly appreciated without a reference to their social and cultural background. We must view them not by themselves as isolated institutions out of touch with the larger life of the community, but as parts

of the entire organization of learning and culture which the country developed. That organization was made up of several typically Indian institutions which were known as kula, gotra, charaṇa and pariṣad. Students of ancient Sanskrit literature must needs know the character, scope and functions of these institutions. We are here concerned only with what we may know of them from the Pāninean Literature. It is, however, to be noted that, though these institutions are primarily concerned and connected with the social life of the community, they have certain important cultural and educational aspects which cannot be ignored.

The *gotra* may be defined as a system of relations based upon community of ancestors. In the earlier stages of the history of the institution, the joint-membership in any given *gotra* seems to have been determined less on the grounds of mere physical descent than on those of spiritual connection and inheritance. The Vedic mantras, religious traditions, and sacrificial customs, which came to be associated with the name of a particular Ṛiṣi became the property of the *gotra* in later times. Its physical aspects were strengthened by the connected ceremony of the *Pravara* by which Agni had to be invoked under the names of three or five ancestors. Thus a knowledge of ancestors descended from generation to generation and helped to impart a certain degree of stability or definiteness to the genealogical relations of various families [see Fick on Gotra in Ency. of Religion and Ethics]. Pāṇini has quite a number of references to the *gotra* [ii. 4, 58-61, 63-70 ; iv. 78, 79, 89-94, 98-112, 162-167 ; iv. 2, 111 ; iv. 3, 80 and 126]. They give numerous well-known gotra names, *e. g.*, Paila, Taulvali, Yāska, Atri, Bhṛigu, Kutsa, Vasiṣtha, Gotama, Āṅgirasa, Tika, Kitava, Āgastya, Kauṇḍinya, Kuñja, Harita, Śāradvat, Śunaka, Darbha, Droṇa, Parvata, Jivanta, Garga, Madhu, Babhru, Kapi, Bodha (an Āṅgirasa) Vātaṇḍa, Aśva, Śiva, Kaṇva. They also give us a glimpse of the system of social organization. It was made up as patriarchal families. Three forms of surnames are mentioned by Pāṇini of denoting the gotra or family. The first was the Patronymic by which the head of the united family, the patriarch, was known. Thus Garga or Gargāchārya was the recognised head of the united family of all the Gargas who may be more than a hundred. The second form of the surname was applied to his eldest son and heir who was called Gārgi, while the third form was applied to his grandsons called Gārgyas. On the death of the patriarch, his eldest son Gārgi was to be called Gārga and his eldest grandson Gārgi, while the great grandsons who were called Gārgāyanas were now to be called Gārgyas. It may be also noted that on the death of the patriarch the other sons designated *youths* (*yuvan*) were subordinate to his authority. On the failure of a direct descendant in the line, the *paterfamilias* passed on

to a collateral relation, but a position of superiority attached to the oldest surviving member, be he an uncle of the surviving representative of the gotra or the younger brother of his grandfather. Pāṇini also notices the term *kula* [iv. 1, 79 and 139] which is explained by the commentators to be the non-famous gotras or families, *e. g.*, Puṇika, Bhuṇika, Mukhara, as instanced by *Kāśikā* and Gārgya, Vaida and Āṅga as instanced by Patañjali [gloss on ii. 4, 64.].

These close corporations of culture could not, however, remain as such for ever. The special body of knowledge, of traditions, doctrines, and customs which was vested in each as its exclusive property could not long continue in its necessary narrowness, but had to be thrown open to the community in the interests of its own growth and of public instruction. Thus they came to be federated together for their common good. Out of this federation arose that peculiar synthesis or institution known as the *charaṇa*. Members of different gotras with their particular culture-traditions, now united in the *charaṇas* to widen their culture. The *gotra* became more and more indicative of the blood-relationship while the charaṇa indicated a spiritual relationship, an ideal fellowship. Every pupil had thus a double relationship, what Pāṇini calls *Vidyā-Yonisambandha*, *i.e.*, relationship in learning and blood. As every person was bound to seek an ächārya for instruction, he was considered to be his descendant in a spiritual sense [i. 3, 36 (*ächārya karaṇa*)].

The *charaṇas* in Pāṇini's times had a much wider basis than before. Two elements are distinguished in that basis by Kātyāyana [Vārtika 2. to iv. 3, 120], *viz.*, (1) Amnāya, *i.e.*, the sacred texts handed down by repetition and (2) *Dharma*, *i.e.*, the laws peculiar to the *charaṇa*. Thus each *charaṇa* had its own particular set of traditional texts and customs, or practical usages and regulations [see also iv. 1, 63]. Thus the *charaṇas* from their very constitution promoted a considerable degree of specialisation. The specialisation was also necessarily carried in a double direction, theoretical and practical. Pāṇini thus refers to a wide variety of such special schools.

Schools based on different Vedic texts are mentioned. Thus *Śākala* or *Śākalaka* is the name of the *Saṅgha* or *charaṇa* for the study of the Śākala Śākhā or recension of the Ṛigveda [iv. 3, 128]. Pāṇini also refers to the schools of Kaṭha, Charaka and *Kalāpin* [iv. 107, 108] to which Patañjali adds Kauthuma [Gloss on ii. 4, 3] Maudaka and Paippalādaka [iv 3, 120 (11)]. According to Patañjali, the Kāthaka and Kālāpaka recensions were very popular, being taught in every village. *Paippalādaka* refers to a recension of the Atharvaveda, while the other terms are connected with the Śākhas of

the Yajurveda. Kātyāyana refers to the school of the *Ātharavanah* [Vārtika 2 to iv. 3. (131)]. We may also note in this connection the different Vedic *charaṇas* founded by each of the *four immediate* pupils of Kalāpi and the *nine* of Vaiśampāyana, as indicated by Pāṇini [iv. 3. 104].

Specialisation was also achieved in the domain of priestly literature and practices. Pāṇini mentions the special schools of the *chhāndoga* priests who sang in metre; *i.e.*, the udgātri priests) and also of the *ukthikas* [who recited certain verses called *ukthas* to be distinguished from *Sāman* verses which are chanted and from Yajus verses which are muttered sacrificial formulas (Monier Williams)]. There are also mentioned the schools of the Yājñikas and Bahvṛichas (*i.e.*, priests connected with the Yajurveda and Rigveda, the latter being the Hotṛi priests who represent the Rigveda in sacrificial ceremonies). The schools of these classes of priests were the custodians of the texts and rules which they had to study to qualify themselves for their work [iv. 3. 129].

There was also progress of specialisation in other departments of knowledge not directly connected with religion. Pāṇini refers to the school of *Natas*. The formation *Nātyam* connotes the literature and practices bearing on the dramatic art [*Ibid.*]. Patañjali mentions specialists in instrumental music like the *Mārdangikas* [iv. 4. 55]. Pāṇini mentions the specialist in the art of story-telling [*Kathika*, iv. 4, 102]. Patañjali mentions specialists like *Aitihāsika* and *Paurāṇika* [iv. 2. 60], the *Vaiyakaraṇa* and *Mimānsaka* [Gloss on ii. 2. 29]. He mentions grammarians of the school of Sākalya [iv. 1. 18 (1)]. He also refers to military schools where the science of the bow was taught [*Dhanuṣi Śikṣate* (i. 3. 21(3)]. It may be noted that he mentions fight with cavalry (*asvairyuddham*) and with weapons (Asiviryuddham) [v. 1. 59 (4)].

Lastly, we have also references to the *Pariṣads*. The Dharma Sūtras and Śāstras give details regarding their constitution, composition and functions. They were of the nature of an executive council regulating the relations between different *charaṇas* and giving authoritative and binding decisions on the doubtful points in the general social laws. Pāṇini refers to the institution in two Sūtrās [iv. 4. 44 and 101]. In the one the formation *Pāriṣadya* is explained as one who attends a meeting, and therefore is a member of the *Pariṣad*, and, in the other, the formation *Pārisada* is explained as one who is clever at debates in the meetings of the *parisad* [*parisadi Sādhu*]. The term *Sabhya* was used to signify the specialist in oratory [iv. 4. 105].

Women were not denied education. The Vārtika on iv. 1. 48 makes this quite clear. Women teachers, not the wives of teachers, are called *Upādhyāyī* or *Upādhyayā*, or Āchāryā. Bhattoji Dīkṣita explains these terms to mean

ladies who are themselves teachers, while the Bālamanoramā quotes an interesting old verse to show that in earlier times there were women who were well-versed in Vedic Literature and were called *Brahmavādinis.** Women students of Vedic Sākhās are referred to by Pāṇini [iv. 1. 63]. Thus *Kaṭhī* means the female student of Kaṭha Sākhā. Bahvrichī means the student who studies many hymns, *i.e.*, the Rig-Veda. [*Bālamanoramā* and *Kāsikā*.] Women seem to have been admitted to military training, as indicated by the formation *Śāktikī* mentioned by Patañjali [iv. 1. 15 (6)], which means a female spear-bearer, and in this connection we may indeed refer to the Amazonian body-guard of armed women noticed by Megasthenes in the palace of the Emperor, Chandragupta Maurya.

This shows that women were admitted to the discipline of *brahmacharya* as indicated by the binding of the muñja girdle and to the studies of the Vedas and repetition of the Sāvitri mantra, so that they would afterwards be qualified teachers.

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* यातु स्वयमेवाऽध्यापिका ।
युगान्तरे ब्रह्मवादिन्यः स्त्रियः सन्ति, तद्विषयमिदम् ।
" पुरा युगेषु नारीणां मौञ्जीबन्धनमिष्यते ।
अध्यापनञ्च वेदानां सावित्रीं वचनन्तथा " इतिस्मरणात्

THE AGE OF THE BRAHMANAS.

(By B. V. KAMESVARA AIYAR, Esq., M.A. M.R.A.S.)

SECTION I.—Preliminary.

In 1893 two attempts, concurrent but independent of each other, were made, one by Professor Jacobi and the other by the late lamented Mr. B. G. Tilak, to push back the date of 'Indo-Aryan' civilization very much earlier than 1200 B.C. Both tried to prove that (1) some Vedic texts have preserved reminiscences of a time when the vernal equinox fell in Mṛigaśiras, (2) and that this arrangement has left its traces in the rules regarding the seasons for the performance of certain *Gṛihya* rites. The period when the arrangement was correct was about 4400 B.C. (or 3800 B.C., allowing for errors of observation). These speculations were welcomed by Dr. G. Bühler, who wrote, * "As the new theory removes the favourite argument of the Sanskritists of Possibilist tendencies that the beginning of the Vedic period must not be pushed back as far as 2000 B.C., † because the Kṛittikā series may have been borrowed from the Chaldeans or from some other nation, it is of great advantage to those who, like myself, feel compelled by other reasons to place the entrance of the Aryans into India long before the year 2000 B.C. But I think the matter should not be allowed to rest where it stands at present. A renewed examination of all the astronomical and meteorological statements in Vedic works and their arrangement in handy, easily intelligible tables seem to be very desirable. It may also be expected that results will be found, fixing approximately the age of at least some Vedic works and the localities where they have been composed."

The 'other reasons' referred to by Dr. Bühler are thus set forth by Professor Jacobi.‡ "But on what is the common view founded? Chiefly, we think, on the splitting up of the Vedic period into several successive divisions of literature and a somewhat subjective guess at their duration. Max Müller assumes for the three first of his four strata of Vedic literature, in order to avoid a too extravagant estimate, a minimum of two hundred years. But it is easy to see that this estimate is far below the minimum of the possible period during which in India a department of literature could take its rise, reach perfection, become obsolete and die out to give place finally to a thoroughly new departure. I maintain that a minimum of a thousand years

* Ind. Ant., Vol. 23, pages 248-249.

† This is Whitney's limit; Weber's was 1500 B.C.; Professor Max-Müller's 1200 B.C. and Dr. M. Haug's, between 2400—2000 B.C.

‡ Ind. Ant., Vol. 23, page 158.

must rather be taken for such a process, which, in the conditions that prevailed in ancient India, was of necessity a very slow one, especially when we take into consideration that in historical times the literature of the classical period remained for more than a thousand years nearly unaltered."

In 1894 and 1895* the theories set forth by Professor Jacobi and the late Mr. Tilak were subjected to a vehement examination by Dr. Whitney and Dr. Thibaut. Dr. Whitney concluded "that nothing has been brought forward, either by him (Tilak) or by Jacobi, that has force to change the hitherto current views of Hindu antiquity."

The examination by Whitney was in the main destructive. Dr. Thibaut re-examined the Vedic passages (first brought to notice by Dr. Weber) and concluded "I do not in general wish to contest what Professor Bühler says about the probability of Vedic culture and literature reaching back to a more remote past than has hitherto been generally assumed. But I must adhere to my contention that—with the possible exception of Kṛittikās heading the old list of Nakshatras—no astronomical datum has so far been pointed out in Vedic literature, which leads back further than the period when the winter solstice was in Śravishṭhas."

In 1903 the late Mr. Tilak published a more ambitious, if less satisfying, work, "The Arctic Home in the Vedas", in which he sought to establish that the beginnings of Aryan civilization dated back several thousand years before the oldest Vedic period, that there were many passages in the Rig Veda, which disclosed the polar attributes of the Vedic deities, that the date of primitive Aryan life went back to the commencement of the post-glacial epoch, which recent researches had brought down to 8000 B.C. and that though the oldest Vedic period—about 4500 B.C.—did not go so far back, the oldest Vedic texts contained reminiscences of a time when the ancestors of the Vedic Rishis lived in the Arctic regions. His interpretation of the Vedic texts which he brought forward as evidence did not find acceptance among scholars and the trenchant criticisms of Mr. R. Swaminatha Aiyar of Madras in 'the Indian Review' exposed the weakness of the theory so elaborately set forth by Mr. Tilak.

In 1904 Dr. Thibaut re-examined the question of Vedic antiquity and summed up saying,† "It may be safely concluded that the Brâhmaṇa literature existed in India about 1200—1000 B.C. From this it may be safely assumed that the stage of civilization which is reflected in the hymns of the Rigveda goes back to, perhaps, 1300 B.C. Anything more definite than this we can at present hardly assert."

* Ind. Ant., Vol. 24, pages 85—100 and 361—369.

† "The Hindustan Review", Jan. 1904.

More recently, Professors A. A. Macdonell and A. B. Keith in their "Vedic Index" (1912) and Professor Keith in his scholarly translation of the Taittirīya Saṁhitā in the H. O. S. (1914) have considered the value of all researches on this question, including the mention of Mitra, Varuṇa and the Nāsatyās in the inscriptions of Boghaz-Keui (1400 B.C.). Their view may be thus summarised: There is no cogent ground for fixing any date for the Rigveda older than 1200 B.C., which is a reasonable period to assume having regard to the extraordinary similarities of Avestan and Vedic and the probability that Avestan is not very ancient. With regard to Brāhmaṇa literature, Professor Keith concludes: The Brāhmaṇa portions of Taittirīya Saṁhitā must be reckoned among the older Brāhmaṇa texts, earlier than the Śatapatha or Jaiminīya or the Kaushītaki, not to mention the later texts, parallel probably with the Maitrāyaṇī and the Kāṭhaka and perhaps also with the Panchavimśa, but probably later than the Aitareya. The Taittirīya Saṁhitā as a collection is not later than, say, 600 B.C. and it is reasonable to believe that the date is earlier by at least a century. Further than this we have no right to go with any assurance and if we assign the Brāhmaṇa portions of the Saṁhitā to a date much anterior to 800—700 B.C., it must be purely on hypothetical grounds. On the other hand a date later than 600 B.C. is very unlikely. The mantra portions of the Taittirīya Saṁhitā are no doubt earlier but their date is wholly indeterminate; for they must contain, apart from Rigveda borrowings, much that is traditional and was old at the time when the Taittirīya Saṁhitā came into being.*

In their 'Vedic Index' Professors Macdonell and Keith have in the main accepted the contentions of Dr. Thibaut as set forth by him in the 'Indian Antiquary' (Vol. 24). Nevertheless they are of opinion that the earliest portions of Vedic literature cannot be earlier than 1200 B.C. and that 'it seems unwise unduly to press back the date of Vedic literature.'† Their chief reason for bringing down the antiquity of Vedic literature to a very much later period than Dr. Thibaut appears to be what has been urged by Professor Rapson.‡ Thus: 'The most ancient literatures of the two peoples —the Indian Rigveda, possibly as early as 1200 B.C. and the Persian Avestā, dating, from the time of Zoroaster, probably about 660-583 B. C., afford no conclusive evidence from which it is possible to estimate the distance of time which separates them from the period of unity; but an examination of the two languages seems to indicate that the common speech

* *Vide* Vol. 18, H.O.S., pp. *clx*, etc.

† "The Vedic Index" Art Nakshatra.

‡ "Ancient India," pages 30-31.

from which they are derived did not differ materially from that of the Rigveda, since Avestan forms are, from the etymological point of view, manifestly later than Vedic forms and may generally be deduced from them by the application of certain well-ascertained laws of phonetic change. It may be inferred, then, that the Aryan migration into India took place during a period which is separated by no long interval from the date of the earliest Indian literature.'

So also Dr. Macdonell in his Vedic Reader:—'The language of the Avesta, if it were known at a stage some five centuries earlier, could scarcely have differed at all from that of the Rigveda. Hence the Indians could not have separated from the Iranians much sooner than 1300 B.C. But, according to Prof. Jacobi, the separation took place before 4500 B.C. In that case we must assume that the Iranian and the Indian languages remained practically unchanged for the truly immense period of over 3000 years. We must thus rest content with the moderate estimate of the thirteenth century B.C. as the approximate date for the beginning of the Rigvedic period.'

The affinity between the Vedic and the Avestan languages (or dialects) and the admittedly late date of the Avesta cannot, I think, be conclusive or even adequate evidence. One dialect remains almost unchanged for centuries, while its sister dialect, under other historic and climatic surroundings, changes almost beyond recognition in the same period. The same dialect remains little changed for several centuries but at one period of history undergoes changes and modifications which materially affect not simply its vocabulary, but even its grammatical elements. Tamil, for instance, has little changed during the last twelve centuries. Tamil, even as a literary dialect, has existed from before the Christian era; its sister dialect, Malayālam is of recent growth. 'Classical Sanskrit has remained essentially unaltered, during the long period of nearly twenty-five centuries in which it has been employed, first as the language of the educated classes and of literature, and later, down to the present day, as the common means of communication between learned men in India'* The fact seems to be that the growth of languages or of even dialects of the same stock is not uniform. If the Avestan remained little altered from 1200 B.C. to 600 B.C., it might very well have so continued from 3000 or 2000 B.C.

Dr. Thibaut's theory is based on an examination of some suggestive passages of the Brāhmaṇas, and his constructive criticism is a scholarly contribution towards the elucidation of the question of Vedic antiquity. It struck me, however, that he had not taken into account some other Brāh-

* Rapson's 'Ancient India,' p. 12.

manic passages, which would materially modify his conclusions. I accordingly wrote a thesis on this question and sent it to Professor A. A. Macdonell of the Oxford University, requesting him to place it before the International Oriental Congress, which was to have sat at Oxford in September 1915. The Congress did not come off owing to the war; but at my request the learned Professor kindly sent me a criticism embodying his chief objections to my position. His criticism showed the weak points in my thesis. I revised my paper in the light of his criticisms and sent it to the first Oriental Conference at Poona in 1919, with a summary which was published by it. I now offer it in the hope that it may attract the attention and critical scrutiny of Vedic scholars.

SECTION II.

The Indian Lunar Zodiac.

There are two sets of astronomical data which have been pressed into service for determining the age of Vedic civilization. One of them relates to the statements about months, seasons, solstices and the year in the Brāhmaṇas. This will be dealt with in the sequel. The other relates to the Nakshatra system of the Brāhmaṇas and the positions assigned to the several asterisms in that system. Sanskritists of the school of Prof. Macdonell deprecate any attempt to determine the age of the Brāhmaṇas on the latter set of data. Prof. Macdonell writes to me, "The origin of the Nakshatras is an unsolved mystery and so long as this is the case conjectures based on their original signification must remain without value as proof of any theory." Similarly Dr. A. B. Keith writes * that in the absence of any evidence as to the real origin of the Nakshatras the priority of Kṛittikās has been insoluble. But the Babylonian hypothesis of their origin † still remains the most plausible.

These scholars‡ would appear to hold that it is probable that the Vedic Indians borrowed the Nakshatra scheme with Kṛittikā ‖ heading the list from Babylon and that they might have borrowed it several centuries after the scheme was first devised in Babylonia. If so what is the good of saying that the first place assigned to Kṛittikā pointed to about 2300 B.C.? That antiquity could be predicated of the country in which the scheme was first born; it would be no evidence for the country which borrowed it, unless we could be sure when it was so borrowed; and there is nothing to prevent us from supposing that the Vedic Indians could not have borrowed it centuries after it had sprung in the country of its birth.

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* J. R. A. S., Jan. 1917, pp. 135-136.

† Is it not rather "the hypothesis of their Babylonian origin"?

‡ I omit the number signs for brevity.

It was Weber who started the theory of the Babylonian origin of the Indian Nakshatra system. In vain did Max Müller try to show that the theory 'could not stand the test of the most forbearing criticism.' Whitney disposed of such attempts in one sweeping condemnation: "I hold it as alone probable that they (the Hindus) received the system from abroad with Kṛittikā at its head. I know of no modern scholar whose opinion is of any value that holds and has endeavoured to show the contrary."

Where Max Müller failed, it is rash for me to venture. I have however tried to sum up this question in an article published in the 'Indian Antiquary'* to which I may refer the inquisitive reader. The following points among others will have to be cleared up before this theory can be allowed to interfere with the evidence of the Vedic texts.

1. What are the Babylonian names of the (27 or 28) Nakshatras?

2. How many single stars did the Babylonians count in the asterisms corresponding to Kṛittikā? Seven as in the Brāhmaṇa† and how many in the other (26 or 27) asterisms?

3. The words *Aghāsu* and *Arjunyoh* in R. V. (X-35-13) mean 'on the days when the moon was in conjunction with Maghā and Phalgunī. Were the days denoted similarly in Babylonia?

4. Were the months in Babylonia designated, at least optionally, by the asterism at or near which the moon becomes full?

5. Did the Babylonian year commence from the winter solstice, at least as an alternative arrangement?‡

6. Why is there no trace in Brāhmaṇa literature of the solar signs, the ram, the bull, etc., or their pictorial representations, or of the week-days, or of the equinoctial year, which are the most marked characteristics of the Babylonian scheme?

Perhaps Hommel or Lehmann-Hampt has answered these questions satisfactorily in the German periodicals. I have not seen their contributions. I presume they are as competent authorities on the Vedas as they perhaps are on Assyriology. Prof. Keith will be doing Indian students a service if he will place before them the researches of these theorists, and answer these questions with the evidence on which the answers are based. Meanwhile Indians cannot help feeling that it is all camouflage, an ingenious device to shut out a whole class of evidence.

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* June 1919.

† Taitt: Sam. IV, 4-3-1; Taitt. Br. III, 1-4-1; Taitt. Ekagni. K. I, 9-7, also Śat. Br. II-1-2.

‡ From about 2300 B.C. the Accadians of Babylonia used a regular calendar, with a week of 7 days and a year of 12 months named after the twelve Zodiacal signs. Chambers' 'Encyclop., Chronology'.

SECTION III.

Krittika among the asterisms.

(*a*) TAITTIRIYA BRAHMANA.

Wherever the asterisms are mentioned in the Vedas, Kṛittikā heads the list.* Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa (I-1-2-1) expressly states that Kṛittikā is the mouth of the asterisms: मुखेना एतन्नक्षत्राणां यत्कृत्तिकाः। What can be the meaning of the first place thus assigned to Kṛittikā? Why should it be called the mouth?

Weber, a pioneer among European Orientalists, sought to find an answer. In far later times, that is in the fifth century A.D., the asterismal series was made to commence with Aśvinī, because the vernal equinox coincided with the first point of Aśvinī. From this Weber concluded that the asterisms were reckoned from Kṛittikā because Kṛittikā coincided with the V.E. at the time of the Brāhmaṇas. Kṛittikā was really at the V.E. at that time, as I shall try to show; but equinoxes had no place in their system and so they had no means of connecting the two.

It was easy to see that this conjectural explanation was wrong for the simple reason that there is nowhere in Brāhmaṇa literature any recognition of the equinoxes. The term *Vishuvat*, which in later Sanskrit denoted the equinox, was used in the Brāhmaṇas to designate the central day of a year—long-sacrificial session called *gavāmayana*, when the sun, at least in the original scheme, had reached the highest point in the heavenly circuit, which corresponds to the summer solstice.† It was not therefore difficult for Dr. Thibaut to show that the analogy of Aśvinī was not applicable to Kṛittikā. He wrote, "We must also disabuse our minds of the notion of the equinoxes having been of any importance for the Hindus previous to the influence of Greek Astronomy. The fact that the sun rises due east is not easily remarked, nor that day and night are of just the same length. But in solstices the sun stands highest or lowest, the days are longest or shortest. In India, at any rate, the vernal equinox does not, in any way, mark an important point in the revolution of the seasons. So equinoxes or anything connected with them are nowhere in Vedic literature referred to either directly or indirectly."

Again, "the Nakshatras' beginning with Kṛittikās is said to recognize the V. E. as having once lain in Kṛittikās. The analogy of Aśvinī will not do. The importance attached to a beginning with the V. E. was entirely due to foreign—Greek—influence. Later on only, in technical Indian astronomy, *vishuvat* came to denote the equinoctial day." ‡

* *Vide* Atharva Veda XIX-7. Taitti. Sam. IV-4-10; Taitt. Br. 1-5-1-2 and III-1-1-6, etc.

† *Vide* Aitareya Br‡ 18-8, Taitt. Br, 1-2-3 and 4.

‡ Indian Ant., Vol. 24.

Weber's conjecture had thus to be given up. What then could have been the reason for the precedence of Krittikā in the Vedic lists? Western scholars—such of them as cared to trouble themselves with this question—fell back on the theory of Whitney—that Kṛittikā was the first asterism among the Babylonians * and that the Indians took it over blindly. Whether the Babylonians had an asterismal series beginning with Kṛittikā was not proved. Hommel endeavoured to prove it; but his theory was not found acceptable. At what time the Indians borrowed the scheme from Babylonia, whether in the third millennium B.C. or later, there was no evidence to show. All the same the Indians, it was held, must have borrowed from Babylon. Whitney's presumption has carried the day.

Another tentative suggestion was offered by the late Dr. Fleet—that the Kṛittikā held its place at the head of the asterisms for† none but ritual and astrological reasons. Professor Keith welcomed the suggestion as he thought that if this should be proved it would put an end to 'much useless conjecture as to the date of the Rig-Veda.'‡ The evidence, however, did not materialise. Meanwhile, there was something to be said in favour of the suggestion. There was an extract from Garga by Somākara on the Vedānga, which stated that for purposes of calculation. Śravishṭhā was the first but in rituals Kṛittikā was the first. In Garga's time the calendar in vogue, though getting out of date, was that of the Vedānga, according to which the year began with the sun at Śravishṭhā at the W. S.; but in all Vedic rites, such as the Chayana or the *nakshatreshṭi* the rites commenced with the mantras to Kṛittikā. So we do even to-day. This does not mean that the Vedic texts arbitrarily pitched upon Kṛittikā as the first or that its precedence was merely a ritual caprice. The Brāhmaṇas had a reason; it is given in Taitt. Brah. I—5-2. But like many other observations of these Brahmavādins it looks a little paradoxical and it was on this ground voted a ritual absurdity. Let us see whether there is no sense behind the paradox. The passage runs thus: देवनक्षत्राणिवा अन्यानि ... ... तान्युत्तरेण ।

'The Deva-nakshatras are one thing and the Yama-nakshatras are different. Kṛittikā is the first and Viśākhā is the last; these are the Deva-nakshatras. Anūradhā is the first and Apabharanī, the last; these are the Yama-nakshatras. Those which are Deva-nakshatras revolve south. Those that are Yama-nakshatras revolve north.'

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* Or the Arabians. The first asterism among the Arabians corresponded to Aśvinī and indicated the fifth century A.D. That did not matter to Whitney. *Vide* Colebrooke's Mis. Essays, Vol. II, pp. 332 *et seq.*

† J. R. A. S., Jan. 1917, p. 135.

‡ *Vide* my paper on the 'Solar signs'—Q.J.M.S., Vol. XII, p. 71.

The twenty-seven nakshatras of the ecliptic are here divided into two sets—those of the Deva-loka and those of the Yama-loka and Kṛittikā being the first nakshatra of the Devaloka is spoken of as the first nakshatra. Both in Vedic and post-Vedic literature the Deva-loka is held to be in the north and the Yama-loka in the south.* If the asterisms from Kṛittikā to Viśākhā are called Deva-nakshatras, the only possible meaning to be attached to such a statement is that these asterisms lie in the northern portion of the ecliptic. Similarly the Yama-nakshatras lie in the southern half. What then did the Brahmavādins mean by adding, immediately after, that the Deva-nakshatras revolve south and the Yama-nakshatras revolve north? The obvious explanation is that the Deva-nakshatras revolve south in the Deva region and the Yama-nakshatras revolve north in the Yama region. We have simply to understand the expressions देवलोकं before उत्तरेण and यमलोकं before दक्षिणेन. The ellipsis is most natural and would easily occur to even a casual reader. So has the passage been understood both by Sāyana and Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara, neither of whom can possibly be suspected of knowing for what evidential purposes the passage might be utilized.

Sāyana explains it thus: देवलोकस्यसमीपे दक्षिणपार्श्वे कृत्तिकादीनि परिभ्रमन्ति. अनूराधानि तु यमलोकस्य समीपे उत्तरपार्श्वे परिभ्रमन्ति. Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara thus:—देवनक्षत्राणि देवलोकं दक्षिणेन परियन्ति। यमनक्षत्राणि तु यमलोकमुत्तरेण परियन्ति। कृत्तिकादीन्युत्तरेण तावति प्रदेशे अदूरेणदेवलोकः। अनूराधानि तु दक्षिणेनतावति प्रदेशे यमलोकः॥†

"The Vedic Index" writes with reference to this passage, "The Brāhmaṇa treats the former series as south and the latter as north. But this has no relation to facts and can only be regarded as a ritual absurdity." Does this passage speak of the Deva-nakshatras as *located* in the south or the Yama-nakshatras, in the north? The very names Deva-nakshatras and Yama-nakshatras unambiguously indicate that the former are situated in the north and the latter in the south. But the former revolve *dakshiṇena*, that is to say

* For Deva-loka, *Vide* Śukla-yaj. Sam. IX—35 and 36; Taitt. Sam. V—2—1; Taitt. Br. II—1—3. For Yama or Pitri-loka, *Vide* Taitt. Sam. V—5—9; VI—6—7; Bṛ. Up. III—9—21.

† Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara adds "केचिदाहुः... ...लक्षणमुक्तमिति"—that some are of opinion that the passage refers to the laying of the nakshatra-bricks in Agni-chayana, the bricks representing the Deva-nakshatras from Kṛittikā being laid south of the *Svayamātṛiṇṇa* from east to west and the Yama-nakshatra bricks from Anūradhā to Apabharaṇī being continued to the north of the svayamātṛiṇṇa. This interpretation is rightly rejected. For these reasons: (*a*) The *anuvāka* treats of *nakshatreshṭi* and not *ishṭakopadhāna*. (*b*) '*Pariyanti*' (revolve) cannot be stretched to mean '*upadhīyante*' (are laid). (*c*) The order of *upadhāna* (Taitt. Sam. IV-4-10) is just the reverse of the natural order of the asterisms in the heavens, the asterismal circuit being represented on the altar, upside down, whereby west becomes east and north becomes south; so that even the upadhāna ceremony of the *nakshatra-ishṭakās* indirectly confirms the location of the Deva-nakshatras in the northern half of the ecliptic and that of the Yama-nakshatras in the southern half.

devalokam-dakshiṇena, to the south of the Deva-loka where they lie. Similarly the Yama-nakshatras revolve to the north of the Yama-loka.* What the passage means and says is, not that the Deva-nakshatras *lie south* but that they *revolve south*, that is, in the southern portion of the Deva-loka where they are situated. Similarly of the Yama-nakshatras.

Prof. A. A. Macdonell, in his review of my original thesis, wrote "It is clear that the passage of the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa cited merely divides the two sets of nakshatras between the Deva and the Yama *lokas*. Beyond this it tells us absolutely nothing and certainly has nothing to do with the equinoxes." That the Brāhmaṇas did not recognize the equinoxes and consequently could not connect the ecliptical asterisms with the equinoxes I have made sufficiently clear. But does the passage say nothing more than that one set belongs to the Deva-loka and the other to Yama-loka? Even so and if left with it, it would, according to all tradition from Vedic times downwards, imply (1) that the nakshatras here treated of are not all the stars in the heavens but the asterisms marking the ecliptical divisions, (2) and that one set, Kṛittikā to Viśakhā lie in the Deva-loka, that is, in the northern portion of the ecliptic, and the other set, in the southern. But the passage does add something more—that the former set *revolve* south and the other, *revolve* north—that is to say, in their respective hemispheres. To ignore the obvious import of this passage without even alluding to the interpretation of the scholiasts does not bespeak the impartiality of critical scholarship.

Though the passage has thus been hanged with a bad name, attempt- have not been wanting to extract some unwarrantable inferences therefrom. In the Yājyanuvākyas of the nakshatreshṭi given in Taitt. Br. III-1, the praise of Paurṇamāsī occurs after the praise of the Deva-nakshatras and of the Amāvāsyā, after that of the Yama-nakshatras, evidently because the paurṇamāsī is sacred to the devas (*vide* Taitt. Sam. III-5-1; VII-5-6-14) and the amāvāsyā, sacred to the pitṛis presided over by Yama (*cf.* पितरस्त्वांयमराजन: Taitt. Sam. V-5-9). From this and also from their numerical correspondence, Weber jumps to the conjecture that "in the Brāhmaṇa period, they were distinguished as 'Deva' and 'Yama', the fourteen lucky asterisms being probably associated with the waxing and the fourteen unlucky, with the waning moon". 'The Vedic Index' echoes this when it writes "Taitt. Br. I. 5-2-7 divides them into deva and pitṛi nakshatras, corresponding with Taitt. Br. III-1, where the days of the light half of the month and those of the dark half are equated with the nakshatras." The equation is modified by Weber with a 'probably' in his characteristic manner; it comes

* *Cf.* the expression तस्माद्दक्षिणेनान्नमश्नते (Taitt. Sam. V-3-4) the food being placed to the south of the eater, a practice observed by orthodox Brahmans even to-day.

out unmitigated in 'The Vedic Index.' Do these passages imply that the days of the light fortnight occur *only* under the deva-nakshatras and those of the dark half under the yama-nakshatras or that the Brahmavādins thought so? It would be more legitimate to infer that the pūrṇimā occurred in the middle of the month and amāvāsyā closed the month.

The passages so far examined would strike all unbiassed critics as implying that the asterisms of the ecliptic were divided into two sets, that those from Kṛittikā to Viśākhā marked the northern half of the ecliptic and the rest, the southern half, and that the whole series appropriately began with the first of the deva-nakshatras, Kṛittikā at the east point which was the dividing point of the two halves and marked the commencement of the asterismal series.

(*b*) Śatapatha Brahmana.

This position of the Kṛittikās as coinciding with the east point in the Brāhmanic period is explicitly stated by another Brāhmaṇa passage (Śat. Br. II. 1-3), where it is said that the Kṛittikās do not deviate from the east, while all the other nakshtaras do. The passage runs thus:—

एताहवै प्राच्यैदिशो न च्यवन्ते सर्वाणिहना अन्यानिनक्षत्राणि प्राच्यैदिशश्च्यवन्ते etc.

The late S. B. Dikshit who drew attention to the passage wrote, "Since in popular language all nakshatras rise in the east and set in the west, we cannot understand the above description of Kṛittikās in the popular sense; for in that case their appearance in the east cannot be contrasted with the other nakshatras. We must therefore interpret the passage to mean that the Kṛittikās were always seen due east, while the other nakshatras were observed to the right or left of this point. Translated into modern astronomical language, this means a great deal. It means that in those days the Kṛittikās were on the equator or that their declination was *nil*, when the passage was composed."*

This is almost literally a paraphrase of Sāyana's commentary on this passage, which runs thus:—

नियतदिक्संबन्धशैनेताःप्रशंसति 'एताहवा' इति "प्राच्य" "प्राच्याः" दिशः सकाशाद् ; न च्यवन्ते, दक्षिणतउत्तरतोवा विक्षेपवशान्नचलन्ति । किंतु नियमेन ध्रुवप्राच्यामेवोदयन्ति ॥

'अन्यानि' तु 'नक्षत्राणि' प्राचीदिग्भागाद् दक्षिणतउत्तरतोवा विक्षेपवशात् चलन्ति । प्राचीदिग्भागाद् दक्षिणतउत्तरतश्च नियमेन परिवर्तन्ते ॥

It is regrettable that Dikshit did not acknowledge his indebtedness to Sayana. Perhaps he did not consult Sāyana.

The "Vedic Index" observes: "The passage in the Sat. Br. that the Kṛittikās do not swerve from the east is held by S. B. Dikshit to point

* The Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXIV, August.

to about 3000 B.C. It is inadequate to support such a conclusion." How it is inadequate is explained by Professor Macdonell in his review of my thesis. He writes: "The passage cited by Mr. Dikshit cannot reasonably be given the interpretation accorded by him, seeing that it has never been so interpreted by tradition and it is most implausible to assume that an observation of this kind was made at a very early date when so far as we can find, the Vedic observation of phenomena of the sky was extremely rudimentary. To attribute such an observation to men who did not even guess the precession of the equinoxes is paradoxical." The first part of the criticism is incorrect in the face of Sāyana's interpretation.

The passage says distinctly and unambiguously that Kṛittikā does not swerve from the east. Fairness requires us to presume that the Brahmavādins meant something by it; and the contrasting of this nakshatra with the rest can possibly mean only one thing—that Kṛittikā was then due east, *Suddha prāchyām* as Sāyana puts it, and the other asterisms lay either to the north or the south of this point on account of *vikshepa* (their celestial latitude). The technical term *vikshepa* brought in by Sāyana may be held to be too advanced for the Brāhmaṇa epoch, like the modern expression "declination nil" used by Dikshit. But this cannot affect or modify what the passage means in itself. The determination of celestial latitudes and longitudes is not quite necessary for simply dividing the ecliptic into a northern and a southern half.

Nor is a knowledge of the precession of the equinoxes necessary for this purpose. The passage does not profess to say 'At the present time, Kṛittikā is due east; the other asterisms also either were or could be at the east point, in the course of precession'. It must be remembered that the passage is an *arthavāda* intended to show how it is auspicious to set up the sacred fires when the moon is in conjunction with Kṛittikā and the passage says that the steadfastness of this asterism in always lying due east (which the Brāhmaṇas recognize as an auspicious direction, as it is so recognized among us to this day) while the others deviate from this position is an augury for the stability of the *yajamāna's* fortunes. It is not easy to understand why people who had no idea of the precession of the equinoxes or of the slow change of the position of the asterisms of the ecliptic could not have observed and noted that a certain asterism was in their days at or near the east point.

It must also be noted that the Brahmavādins could not have had sufficient data for guessing the precession. If, as we should assume, they were the first in India to observe the position of the sun at the winter or the summer solstice, it would take centuries before its departure from this position becomes considerable enough to attract notice and examination; and instances of several departures of this kind, separated from one another by centuries, should be

necessary to suggest precession. Even at a far later period when Indian astronomers had profited by the *Yavana* system, there were differences of opinion regarding the nature of the precession.

Some Indian astronomers held the theory of a complete revolution of the colures ; others affirmed merely a libration of the equinoctial points. How on earth could the Brahmavādins have guessed the precession of the equinoxes if they were the first observers of the sky in Aryan India to note the positions of the sun and the several asterisms ? If the Brahmavādins had no records or traditions of an earlier position of the solstices or the asterisms and if they had therefore no possible chance of the idea of a regressive movement of the solstices being suggested to them, should they be supposed to have been incapable of noting the cardinal points and determining the position of the asterisms with reference to these points ?

What was required to be known was what the cardinal points of direction were and whether a certain well-recognized asterism rose due east or to the north or south of it. The Brāhmaṇās show that in their time not only had the four cardinal points been determined and fixed, but that the four intermediate points also of the compass had been noted and recognized—*vide* for instance, Śukla-yajus-samhitā, which, in XXIV—26, mentions the four quarters and the four intermediate quarters. Taitt. Samhitā (II-4-9-2) presses for a familiar illustration the fact that the *diks* are four and the *avāntra-diśàs* are four. Students of Brāhmaṇā literature need not be told that the first thing with which the Brahmavādins concern themselves in their several *Śrāuta* rites is, in what season a particular rite should be commenced or performed, under what nakshatra (that is, the day in which the moon is in conjunction with it) should it be begun and what directions are auspicious for the several component parts of the rite. Ait. Br. (I-3-14,)* for example, recommends the north-east (*udichī-prāchi*) for *Somopāvaharaṇa* as an invulnerable (*aparājitā*) direction and supports the point with a legend, in the usual manner of a Brāhmaṇa. Śat. Br. (XIII-4-2-15) recommends the N.-E. for the setting free of the asvamedha horse. Could not then the Brāhmaṇas be held to have some idea of what they said, when they spoke of east or west or of the sun turning north or south or of an asterism not swerving from the east ? As Prof. Max Müller observes, † "The moon progressing from night to night and coming successively in contact with certain stars was like the finger of a clock coming in contact with one figure after another. All that they were concerned with was the twenty-

* Sayana prefaces his explanation of this passage thus :
अथ आख्यायिकामुखेनसोमोपावहरणस्य ऐशानीं दिशं विधत्ते ॥

† Preface to the IV Vol. of the Rigveda, 2nd. Edn.

seven celestial stations which, after being once traced out by the moon, were fixed like so many mile-stones for determining the course of all the celestial travellers that could be of any interest for signs and for seasons and for days and years. Any circle divided into twenty-seven sections or any twenty-seven poles planted in a circle at equal distances round a house would answer the purpose of a primitive observatory. All that was wanted to be known was between which pair of poles the moon or the sun was visible at their rising or setting, the observer occupying the same central position every day. Our notions of astronomy cannot be too crude and imperfect if we wish to understand the first beginnings in the reckonings of days and seasons and years and I doubt whether a profound knowledge of astronomy is not an impediment rather than a help to the historian of the early days of astronomical discovery."

Even with such a primitive circle of observation and such rudimentary notions of the movements of the moon, the sun and the asterisms (and the state of society even at an earlier period—that of the Rigveda—discloses greater intellectual capacity) it should have been possible for the Brahmavādins to note the cardinal points of what Prof. Max Müller calls a "primitive observatory". When the Brahmavādins speak of the sun having reached the southernmost point and turning north or its having reached the northern-most and turning south,* we must presume that they had fixed these points in their "primitive observatory". With the cardinal points thus fixed the asterisms also and the sections represented by them severally should have been marked therein. All this, as Prof. Max Müller points out, could be carried out by a shepherd watching the skies for practical signs of changes in the weather. It would be unfair to suppose that such a feat was difficult of accomplishment by generations of Brahmavādins whose chief work in life appears to have been to regulate their rites by the seasons and the position of the sun and the moon in the Zodiac. The asterisms in the part of the Zodiac circle, above the line† joining the east and west points would have been appropriately called the Deva-Nakshatras and those in the lower half, the Yama-Nakshatras; and in this rough scheme of asterisms making up the Zodiac, the position of Kṛittikā should have coincided with the East. Some such thing should be presupposed if the expressions, East, North-East, etc., or the sun turning north or south, so often met with in the Brāhmaṇas are

* *Vide* for instance Aitti. Br. IV—18th ; Sat. Br. II—1—3 ; Kaush : Br. XIX—3rd and Taitt. Sam. II—4—1—26; where the expressions *'Yadā udang—avartate' 'dakshiṇavartate' 'udang—avartsyan,' dakshiṇavartyan 'ayang raśmibhih paryāvartate,* are predicated of the sun. Mr. B. G. Tilak's forced interpretation of expressions like these has been rightly rejected by Dr Thibaut.

† The distance between Kṛittika and Viśākha's is within 180° (212°—38° = 174°).

to have any meaning at all. Conception of a retrograde movement of the colures, which is impossible in the absence of a series of observations extending over centuries and recorded or traditionally handed down, does not appear to be indispensable for the construction of a practical Zodiac scheme like the one sketched above.

Max Müller observes, "To judge from their much later performances the Brahmans in the twelfth century B.C. had no means for observing with astronomical accuracy the solstitial points, a task by no means easy even at the present day." Whitney and Thibaut have also observed that minuteness and accuracy of astronomical *observation* never existed in India; and Dr. Thibaut has urged that people who at the time of the Vedânga Jyotisha were unable to find out that a solar year of 366 days was too long by about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a day could not have accurately fixed the sun's place among the asterisms of the Zodiac at the winter solstice. There is great force in these contentions. But the Brahmavâdins do not appear to have attempted the determination of the exact solstitial day. Their years and their months were lunar and it was enough for them, if their lunar year was, by occasional intercalation, brought approximately near the time when the sun turned towards the north and the solstitial day can be determined with approximate accuracy if as pointed by Varâhamihira in his Brihat-Samhita * we observe some distant point in the horizon where the sun rises or sets or note the changes in the position of the shadow of a pole placed at the centre of a big circle (chhâyâ—praveśa—nirgama). An error within four degrees from the true solstitial shadow may be conceded for the naked eye. But such an error will not materially affect long periods of antiquity or the approximate accuracy of the four cardinal and the four intermediate points, wherein the Brahmavâdins located the several asterisms in their primitive observatory.

The 'Vedic Index' remarks *anent* this passage of the Śat. Br. "Its lack of trustworthiness as a chronological guide is increased by Baudhâyana Śrauta Sutra (18-5) which has a similar notice, coupled with another which, accordingly to Barth, would only be true somewhere in or after the sixth century A.D., the equinoctial point being placed between Chitrâ and Svâtî, which in that early period were both very much north of the equator." At the risk of repetition I may state here that Chitrâ was on the equinox about 285 A.D. The longitude of Svâtî is generally given as 199°. There is a distance of 19 degrees (or 16 degrees according to others) between Chitrâ and Svâtî. Allowing 72 years for a degree of precession, we are carried back to 1083 B.C. (72×19—285) or 867 B.C. (72×16—285), for the time when Svâtî was on the equinox. So any time between 285 A.D. and 1083 B.C.,

* Brihat. Sam. III-3.

the colure may be said to have lain between Chitrā and Svātī. Baudhāyana could very well refer like other Sulba-Sutrakārars both to the earlier *dig-nirṇaya* of the Brāhmaṇa epoch (*i.e.*, Kṛittikā as indicating the east point) and the later direction *Chitrā-Svātyoh antareṇa*. In these circumstances it is difficult to see how the sixth century A.D. of Barth comes in or how the mention by Baudhāyana, of the colure passing between Chitrā and Svātī would affect the trustworthiness of the earlier mention in the Brāhmaṇas of Kṛittikā not swerving from the east. 'The Vedic Index' observes, 'Even if the nakshatra of Kṛittikās be deemed to have been chosen because of its coincidence with the vernal equinox, Whitney and Thibaut are prepared to regard it as no more than a careless variant of the date given by the Jyotisha." Dr. Thibaut* writes "What may be the meaning of the fact that the oldest lists of Nakshatras begin with Kṛittikās we shall consider later on." After discussing other points, he reverts to this point and says "I said that I should revert later on to the fact of Kṛittikās heading the oldest lists of Nakshatrās. This fact has, it is well known, been generally understood to imply a recognition of the vernal equinox having once lain in the Kṛittikās." After pointing out how the analogy of *Aśvinyādi* will not apply, he proceeds 'As thus there is no trace of a year reckoned from the equinox in the Brāhmaṇa period, there hardly seems a good reason for connecting the position of the Kṛittikās at the head of the old lists of nakshatras, with the vernal equinox. According to the system of the Brāhmaṇas which, as we have seen, is reflected in the Jyotisha Vedāṅga† the vernal equinox falls at 10° of Bharaṇī—*i.e.*, close to the Kṛittikās‡ and the latter constellation might therefore even then have been viewed as roughly marking the equinox. But the doctor immediately after rejects this hypothesis saying, "but as the latter point or day is manifestly of no importance in the order of the year recognized in the Brāhmaṇas, I, for my part, am unwilling to accept the interpretation of the position of the Kṛittikās". And he concludes this part of enquiry half-heartedly; "It is not impossible that the old lists may have come from the time when the Kṛittikās marked the vernal equinox not merely approximately but accurately, that is, about 2300 B.C. Only we must clearly realize that in that case astronomical views must have then greatly differed from those of the Brāhmaṇa period—that people then must have looked on the V.E. as really marking the beginning of the year. But it is a hypothesis not directly countenanced by

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* The Ind. Ant., Vol. 24, p. 90.

† It is this position of Dr. Thibaut that is sought to be refuted in the sequel.

‡ Here Dr. Thibaut is trying to suit his theory to the Kṛittikā segment, though he must have known that the Brāhmaṇas in all these passages speak not of the *segments* but of the asterisms. The asterism Kṛittikā is more than 16° from the end of the Bharaṇī segment.

anything in the Vedic literature." The doctor here argues: (1) The Brāhmaṇas, for reasons given in his essay, could not be dated earlier than the epoch of the Vedānga, 1200—1000 B.C. (2) In the period of the Brāhmaṇas, there was no recognition of a year beginning with the V.E. (3) But the first place assigned to Kṛittikā in the Vedic lists preserved in the Brāhmaṇas could have, if at all, only come from an earlier time when an equinoctial year with Kṛittikā at the V.E. was recognised. Nowhere, however, in Vedic literature is such a year recognised. It is not therefore reasonable to conclude that the precedence of Kṛittikā in the Vedic lists points to 2300 B.C. *Re* (1) I propose to show in the sequel that the age of the Brāhmaṇas would lie between 2000—2300 B.C. and that the Vedānga is a later attempt to readjust the calendar to about 1000 B.C. This is however anticipating. *Re* (2) the lists of asterisms are not older than but synchronise with the epoch of the Brāhmaṇs, as indicated by the present tense in expressions like *pariyanti* and *na chyavante* in the passages of the Taittirīya Br. and Śatapātha Br., already quoted and examined. *Re* (3) it is true that there is no recognition in the Vedās of a year beginning with the V.E. But Kṛittikā was given the first place in the lists of asterisms, not because of any coincidence that might then have been between Kṛittikā and the V.E. but solely because the asterismal circuit was divided into a northern or deva half and a southern or yama half. Kṛittikā happened then to lie due east, that is, at the meeting point of the two halves. देवाश्विनः* is the usual Brāhmanic, as it was the post-Vedic, order and Kṛittikā, as the first of the deva nakshatras in the order of the moon's passage, came to be recognised as the first of the asterisms. All that was required for this purpose was to represent the asterismal path by a big circle with 27 poles (marking the stages of first the moon's and subsequently the sun's heavenly circuit) and fix the cardinal points of the circle, mainly with the help of the time (and the corresponding poles) when the sun turned north or south and roughly mark the portion of the several asterisms between every two poles; and in this arrangement Kṛittikā, as the first of the northern half, was found to be situated midway between the north and south points, that is, due east: no recognition of an equinoctial day or equinoctial year is necessary for this purpose. The doctor is obsessed by the idea suggested by Weber, which he had himself exploded, and needlessly assumes that it would not be possible to divide the ecliptical path into a northern and a southern half or determine the cardinal points if only approximately without at the same time recognizing an equinoctial day (hardly noticeable in India) or a year beginning with the vernal equinox.

* The piṇḍa-pitṛi yajna to the pitris on the amāvāsya day and the ishṭi to the devas on the next day, which militate against this order of precedence has to be explained by an arthavāda in Taitt. Sam. II-5-3 and in Ait. Br. III-2-15.

"The Vedic Index" urges, "A very grave objection to this view is its assumption that the sun and not the moon was then regarded as connected with the nakshatras". Here again the same confusion underlies the objection. There can be no doubt that it was the moon's course from night to night, that at first suggested the asterismal 'mile-stones,' though at the time of the Brāhmaṇas the Vedic theologians had sufficiently advanced to note the asterisms in proximity to the sun.* But it was not the coincidence of Kṛittikā with V.E. that secured for it its first place among the asterisms but its being the first of the asterisms that marked the northern half of the ecliptical path. Once grant that the Brahmavādins had a circle representing the ecliptic and some rudimentary knowledge of the cardinal points about which they speak so profusely and it will follow that they could easily divide the ecliptic into a northern and a southern half. The idea of a vernal equinox has been needlessly introduced into the discussion and this has created all the trouble.

(c) MAIT. UP.

This position of Krittikā as coinciding with the east point is borne out by another passage quoted by a genuine Upanishad—the Maitrāyaṇa-Brāhmaṇa-Upanishad. It runs thus:—

अथऽन्यत्राप्युक्तं । अन्नंवा सर्वस्ययोनिः, कालश्चान्नस्य, सूर्योयोनिः कालस्य । तस्मैतद्रूपं, यत्रिमेषादिकालात्संभृतं द्वादशात्मकंवत्सरं । एतस्य आग्नेयं अर्धं । अर्धबाह्यं । मघाद्यं श्रविष्ठार्धं आग्नेयं क्रमेण । उत्क्रमेण सार्पार्धं श्रविष्ठार्धान्तं सौम्यं । तत्र एकैकं आत्मनो नवांशकम् सचारकविधं । Mait. Up. VI—14.

I would translate it thus: And thus hath it been said elsewhere. "Food is the generating cause of all this (multitude of living beings); and time, of food. The sun is the generating cause of time. The manifest form of time is the year which is made up of moments and the like and which consists of twelve parts, *i.e.*, months. One half of this year is *Āgneya* (the warm half) and one half *Vāruṇa* (watery or cold). When the sun moves from the beginning of Maghā to half (the segment of) Śravishṭhā in the regular order (of the asterisms), it is Āgneya. When the sun moves from the beginning of Sārpa, (Āśleshā) to the end of Śravishṭhā half, in the inverse order, it is *Saumya*. Each one (of the twelve months) consists of nine-parts with (reference to) the manner of its (sun's) proceeding."

Short as the passage is it is full of difficulties. I subjoin a few notes to elucidate if not to justify my rendering.

(1) In his criticism of my original thesis Prof. Macdonell writes: "Apart from the grave doubt as to whether the passage of the Maitra. Up. bears the

* *Cf.* Taitt. Br. I-5-2-1, which says that the asterism near the sun should be observed and noted before sunrise, *abhyuditam*, while the stars are still visible: for when the sun rises, the nakshatras disappear.

meaning placed upon it by the author, it is sufficient to observe that the passage in question occurs in the sixth section, which is obviously an addendum and that, to an Upanishad which, by reason of diction not less than content, is clearly far later than the period of the Brāhmaṇas."

This is true to a considerable extent. The commentator himself, as Max Müller has pointed out, declared the sixth and the seventh chapters of this Upanishad to be *khilas* or supplements. Dr. Cowell was of opinion that even the earlier portion of the Upanishad dated from a late period. Max Müller has however urged strong reasons for concluding that the Upanishad including the supplementary *prapāthakas* 'points to times when what we call Buddhism was in the air, say the sixth century B.C.' the very time to which he had always assigned the origin of the genuine and classical Upanishads. This Upanishad belongs to the Maitrāyaṇī Śākhā of the Krishṇa Yajur-Veda and as stated by Dr. Cowell formed the concluding portion of a lost Brāhmaṇa of the śākhā. It is very likely that the passage quoted by the Upanishad is taken from the lost Brāhmaṇa, as quotations by the later portions of a śākhā are generally taken from, and follow the reading of, the earlier texts of the same śākhā. It is also well to remember that there were earlier and later Brāhmaṇās, and the Brāhmaṇa of this śākhā might have been one of the later. The passage is admittedly a quotation, presumably, from the Maitr. Br.; it refers to a position of the solstitial colures earlier than that of the Vedānga by several centuries and even the later portions of a genuine Upanishad must be centuries earlier than the post-Vedic astronomical compendium. There is nothing to prevent a later work from quoting a tradition of a far earlier time. The tradition quoted here carries, itself, the evidence of its epoch and cannot be invalidated by the comparative lateness of the work which has quoted it.

(2) The term *Āgneya* in the sentence is contrasted with *Vāruṇa* and I have therefore taken the two terms to refer to the two prime divisions of the year, the warm and the rainy (cold). In the next sentence *Āgneya* refers, I think, to a different aspect of Agni and is used in a different sense. Such quibbles are not foreign to the Brāhmaṇas which, like their gods, love the recondite (*parokshakāma*).

(3 and 4). *Saumya* technically means *uttarāyaṇa*. The student is referred to Vaidyanātha Dīkshita's Smṛiti-muktāphala under *Grahaṇa-snāna*, where he explains the expression मृगसौम्यकं of Gālava-smṛiti thus: मृगं = मकरं, सौम्यकं = सोमदैवत्यनामकं उत्तरायणं. Soma is the presiding deity of the north and Agni of the south-east,* so that the expressions *saumya* and *āgneya* here

* *Cf.* The Brāhmaṇa passage quoted by Āswalāyana—Gr. S. I-10-16. तस्मात्पुरुषस्यहिप्रत्यङ् मुखस्यासीनस्य दक्षिणमक्ष्युत्तरं भवत्युत्तरंदक्षिणं. Soma and Agni, in their natural order, represent north and south.

denote the northward and the southward course of the sun respectively. The sentence thus means, ' When the sun travels from the beginning of Maghā to half the segment of Śravishthā it is Dakshiṇāyaṇa and when the sun travels from the end of this half of Śravishthā segment to Āślesha it is Uttarāyaṇa. The original literally means 'from the beginning of Āślesha to the end of half the Śravishthā segment *in the inverse order*,' which means 'from the beginning of the remaining half of Śravishthā to the end of the Āślesha segment' *in the natural order*. The word *utkrama* in the text is obviously a corrupt reading for *Vyutkrama* which it means, at any rate. For the sun does not move from Āśleshā to Pushya and so on but from Śravishthā to Śatabhishag, etc.

(5) *Navamśakam* means 'consisting of nine parts'. *Vide* Bhaṭṭotpala's commentary on Br. Jat. I—9 where he says नवभागोनवांशकः। The obvious reference here is to नवक्षेचरणः of Br. Jat. I—4, the nine nakshatra-pādas which the sun traverses in a solar month.

(6) *Sacharakavidham* means ' with (reference to) the manner of its (the sun's) moving.'

Prof. Max Müller's translation of this passage runs thus : 'And thus it has been said elsewhere : ' Food is the cause of all this ; time of food, and the sun is the cause of time. The (visible) form of time is the year, consisting of twelve months, made up of Nimeshas (twinkling) and other measures. Of the year one half (when the sun moves northward) belongs to Agni, the other to Varuṇa (when the sun moves southward). That which belongs to Agni begins with the asterism of Maghā and ends with half of the asterism of Śravishṭhā the sun stepping down northward. That which belongs to Soma (instead of Varuṇa) begins with the asterism (of Āślesha) sacred to the serpent and ends with half of the asterism of Śravishṭhā, the sun stepping up southward. And then there (are the months) one by one, belonging to the year each consisting of nine-fourths of asterisms (two asterisms and a quarter being the twelfth part of the passage of the sun through the 27 nakshatras) each determined by the sun moving together with the asterisms ". (S. B. E., Vol. XV, p. 316.)

A few remarks are here added to bring out the differences between the two renderings (1) Max Müller interprets *Āgneya* alike in both sentences, with the result that we are at a loss to know why *Saumya* is substituted for *Vāruṇa*. (2) He translates *krameṇa* by 'the sun stepping down northward' and *utkrameṇa* by 'the sun stepping up southward'. I must confess I can make no meaning out of the expressions 'the sun stepping down northward and stepping up southward.' Moreover the contest requires *vyutkrameṇa* (= in the inverse order) as the sun's course is not from Āślesha to Śravishthā but

the other way. (3) He uses the word *asterism* here to denote 'the segment covered by an asterism.' The terms 'asterism', 'lunar mansion,' 'constellation' are so often used indiscriminately that it will be well, in the interests of perspicuity, to define and restrict the application of these terms. 'Lunar mansion' may be made to refer to 'one of the 27 *segments* of the ecliptic'. I have however avoided this term altogether and have been using the expression 'asterismal segment'; Constellation may be restricted to denote one-twelfth part of the ecliptic, that is, a sign or rāsi. I have as a rule been using *asterism* to denote the individual *nakshatras*, Kṛittika, Rohiṇi, etc., and the expression 'asterismal segment' whenever I had to refer to 'one of the 27 parts of the ecliptic'. (4) The expression 'the sun moving together with the asterisms' does not appear to me to be quite correct; the asterisms, in the sense in which Prof. Max Müller has used the word, that is, the asterismal segments, do not move; it is the sun that apparently moves from one nakshatra to another. Of course the nakshatra to which the sun is in proximity rises and sets more or less about the time of the sun's rising or setting. But this is not, I think, what Prof. Max Müller meant to say or what the contest seems to convey.

These differences do not, however, affect the main point of my contention. Both according to him and me, the passage speaks of the year being divided (into two halves—the Uttarāyaṇa and Dakshiṇāyana courses of the sun, Maghā marking the summer solstitial point. The passage does not definitely state that it is the *asterism* Maghā that so divides the two halves of the year. But this is the earliest determination of the positions of any of the asterisms earlier by at least half a segment than that of the Vedāṅga); the southernmost point of the ecliptic is expressly declared in this passage to be the middle point of the Śravishṭhā segment and cannot therefore be decisive. Moreover, as observed by Dr. Thibaut, "Śravishṭhā has a considerable northern latitude and the sun can therefore never actually be in that constellation nor can the heliacal rising of that constellation indicate the place of the sun in the ecliptic, to those who do not possess a very advanced astronomical and mathematical knowledge." Śravishṭhā being thus left out of account for any determination of the W. S., the *asterism* Maghā must have been employed to mark the summer solstice. A conspicuous asterism like Maghā (Regulus) is far more likely to be spoken of as the dividing point of the two halves of the year in the earliest fixation of the position of the asterisms than an imaginary point several degrees removed from it. Nor can the positions of the asterisms as implied by the Vedāṅga arrangement or the far later Revati-equinoctial arrangement apply to a position earlier by far than either of these. The

probabilities are therefore that the passage contemplates the *asterism* Maghā as marking the summer solstice. This, it is needless to say, corresponds to Kṛittikā at the east point of the ecliptic, the distance between the two asterisms being about 90° (129—38). It is not at all necessary to presume that the exact positions* of the 27 asterisms in their respective segments had all been determined at the time of the passage quoted. The determination of the longitudes and latitudes of the 27 asterisms or their *yogā-tārās* came much later, after contact with Alexandrian astronomy, but there is nothing to prevent us from holding that at the time of the Brāhmaṇas it was known that Kṛittikā marked the east point of the ecliptic and Maghā, the northern point, from which the sun turned south in its annual circuit. The quotation by this Upanishad would thus support the position of Kṛittikā as pointing to the east point at the time of the Brāhmaṇas.

Dr. Thibaut says that the Kṛittikās marked the east point and Maghā, the summer solstice about 2300 B.C. This is the general opinion of western scholars. Dr. Schram gives 2550 B.C. The late S. B. Dikshit gives about 3000 B.C. Dr. Bühler's conclusion appears to be the fairest. He wrote: 'As the position of the Kṛittikā was astronomically correct about 2500 B.C., the observation cannot, even if the necessary allowance is made for errors owing to imperfect methods, be assumed to have been made later than about 2000 B.C. At this time the ancient Hindus must have possessed an astronomical science, probably very elementary yet based on scientific principles and on actual observation.'

Though Dr. Thibaut has his doubts about the position of Kṛittikā pointing to so early a date, he has admitted that at the time of the Kaushītaki Brāhmaṇa "there must have already existed a fully worked-out calendaric scheme very similar to the Vedānga-Jyotisha. It appears probable that such a scheme was known at the time already when the months first received their names from the nakshatras in which the moon was full. But we must distinguish between minuteness and accuracy of astronomical observation on the one hand and of arithmetical calculation on the other hand. The former cannot be presupposed for an early period but we may admit that the Hindus were at a very early period already capable of devising a purely theoretical sub-division of the sun's and moon's path into 27 equal parts and accurately calculating the places occupied in those parts by the sun and the moon in all seasons and months of the year. There is no valid reason, in fact, to deny that what is actually done in the Vedānga and the Sūrya-

* The asterisms lie at unequal distances: as for instance the longitudes of Pushya, Āślesha and Maghā are 106°, 108° and 129° respectively. The segments being *equal* divisions, it must happen that a few asterisms will lie out of the segments they represent.

prajnapti could be done at a much earlier period already." The doctor concludes, " With the possible exception of the Kṛittikās heading the old lists of nakshatras no astronomical datum has been pointed out in Vedic literature which leads us farther back than the W. S. at the Śravishṭhās." Now that I have endeavoured to clear the misconception that has arisen with reference to Kṛittikā and the vernal equinox, I hope there will be no further difficulty in accepting the validity of the position of Kṛittikā at the east point indicating approximately 2300 B.C.—2000 B.C. for the period of the Brāhmaṇas.

PERIYAPURANA (OR THE LIVES OF THE GREAT SAIVA DEVOTEES.)

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Periyapurāṇam (*Periyar*=eminent in the *spiritual* sense, and *purāṇam*=story) records the lives of the 63 great Saiva devotees together with those of 9 classes of different *bhaktas* (devotees) whose sculptures surround the sanctum of all Siva temples. In the raised platform around the verandah on the inside of the first court-wall, these devotees, who were raised to prominence by their deeds, stand in miniature sculptures. Worship to these is made daily and in particular on the days when they left their physical body. About the qualifications of such eminent men, the great Tamil poet Tiruvaḷḷuvar in his famous "*Kuraḷ*" records as follows:—

"Behold the men who have renounced sense-enjoyments and live a life of discipline, the scriptures exalt their glory above any other God. Behold the men who have weighed this life with the next and have renounced: the earth is made radiant by their greatness: Behold the man whose firm will controlleth his five senses even as the goading hook controlleth the elephant: he is a seed fit for the fields of heaven: Behold the man who appreciateth at their true value the sensations of touch and taste and sight and sound and smell (*i.e.*, who knows that they are transient and at the same time misleading, and who therefore endeavours to transcend them): he will command the world. The scriptures of the world proclaim the greatness of the man of the mighty word."

Though the five *Aṅgas* or parts that pertain to all other Purāṇas—*Pañchalakshanam**—are wanting in this work, this has assumed prominence even amongst those ancient works, on account of the men, whose lives are narrated therein, having won the admiration of God Siva even under the most *trying circumstances*. "Purāṇas are elaborate commentaries of the sacred Vèdas and these explain the philosophical details in the form of easy stories. They are intended for the exclusive benefit and elevation of the lower

* *Pañcha-lakshanam or* "that which hath five characteristic topics" relating to:—
1. Primary creation or cosmogony;
2. Secondary creation or the destruction and renovation of the worlds, including chronology;
3. Genealogy of Gods and patriarchs;
4. Reigns of Manus or periods called *Manvantaras*;
5. Mythological history, or such particulars as have been preserved of the princes of the solar and lunar races, and of their descendants to modern times.

orders of society that do not possess the requisite intellectual capacities to catch the true import of the Vēdas directly and all at once. Unlike the other Purāṇas, this Periyapurāṇa alone records the lives of historical personages who have done much to Saivism during the recent period as will be seen later on from the inscriptions recorded in temples dating from the 10th century downwards. This work in consequence has become a standard work in Tamil literature and it ranks amongst those to be religiously read *daily* like the Rāmāyaṇa. Again, this work is said to have obtained the grace of Naṭarāja, the presiding deity of the temple at Chidambaram, which amongst the Saiva temples is known as "The temple" and it has earned the epithet "*Arutpā*" in consequence hereof.

Of the 63 *Nāyanmārs*, Chandēsa is declared the head, and even the temple accounts of Saiva Gods were used to be written in his name. It is this Chandēsa that did not care even for his father in his zealous worship of the God. So the God crowned * him and gave him a place near him. All the used-up garlands are thrown over him and he is held in much esteem in all Siva temples. Worshippers are in consequence enjoined to take leave of him, without which the visit to the temple is supposed to be incomplete and unfructifying. In due reverence to him, all worshippers clap their hands, thus proving their visit to the temple and soliciting his patronage.

There are numerous grants recorded in temples, examined hitherto by the Madras Epigraphical Department, testifying to the fact that all sale transactions relating to the temples were conducted in the name of this head devotee Ādichandēsa—and not in the names of the Trustees as in these days, when there is misappropriation of even the God's money which tends to the ruin of the family, in perfect accordance with the Tamil saying "Appropriating Siva's property causes destruction to the family".

The Great Saṅkarāchārya has praised some of the devotees in several of his works, thus showing that they are important personages, who helped the spread of Saivism.

The mythical origin of Periyapurāṇa is contained in the great "*Siva-rahasya*" 9th Canto, wherein God Siva Himself in Mount Kailās, is said to have revealed to his consort Pārvati the future birth of 63 devotees who would be immortalized in the world. In accordance with this divine dictate, Sundaramūrti, one of the 63 devotees of the *Periapurāṇa*, was born and he spent the major part of his life in the sacred Tiruvārūr (Tanjore district). Then there arose an occasion for him to compose in 11 stanzas, the lives of

* This aspect of Siva goes by the name of *Chandēśānugrahamūrti* and a sculptural representation of this form exists in the outer wall of the great temple at *Tiruppaṟaṅkuṇḍraṃ* in the district of Trichinopoly.

these saints. This is said to have been done at the command of the presiding God of that place and it went by the name of "*Tiruttoṇḍaththogai*" or "the number of the devotees" which formed the nucleus for the great *Periapurāṇam*. Completing his stay in this mundane world, Sundarar entered the region of Siva at Mount Kailās, which sage Upamanyu, who was then present at the place witnessed, and he in his turn proclaimed the lives of Sundara and the others of the 63 to his followers. This work is entitled "*Upamanyu Bhaktavilāsam*". Sage Agastya has also narrated this story in one of his works which is termed "*Agastya Bhaktavilāsam*". Its importance being great, a Telugu translation of it containing a summary was produced by one Palkuriki Sōma, a great Vīrasaiva author of the 13th century in his work entitled "Basava Purāṇa". Then in due course, to the boy devotee Nambiāndār-Nambi of Tirunāraiyūr, 9 miles south-west of Chidambaram, Vināyaka his patron deity of the place revealed the mysteries of this *Tiruttoṇḍaththogai* and also pointed out to him the existence of that work in palm leaf in a room on the north-west of the *Sabhā* wherein God Naṭarāja at Chidambaram dances blissfully *for ever*. With the Chōla King Rājarāja Abhayakulasēkhara *alias* Kulōttuṅga I (11th century) who had his capital at Tiruvārūr, Nambiāndār proceeded to Chidambaram, took out the book from the room within the temple and arranged them as revealed to him by his Vināyaka in a work entitled "*Andādi*". On the north wall of the maṇḍapa in front of the Akshēswara temple, at Achcharapākkam is an inscription which makes mention of the image of Kulōttuṅga I who is designated as Rājakēsari-varman *alias* Tribhuvanachakravartin Kulōttuṅga-Chōladēva that was set up in this temple during the fifth year of the king (1074-75 A.D.) and this inscription has been numbered as 247 of 1901 in the Annual Report of the Madras Epigraphical Department. Later on King Anapāya Chōla, who has been identified with Kulōttuṅga II by the Madras Epigraphical Department, had for his prime minister, Arunmoḷithēvar of Kunrattūr (Saidapet taluk of Chingleput district) belonging to the then Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam. He went by the popular name of Sēkkiḻār, as he belonged to that sect of the Vellāla* caste. The king also conferred on him the title of "Uttamachōlapallava" and "Toṇḍarserparavuvār". He had for his patron deity the God at Tirunāgēswaram near Kumbhakōnam and on this account constructed

* *Vellala* is from the Tamil word *Vellalan* which is derived from *Vellanmai* (*Vellam* = water and *Aanmai* = management) meaning cultivation, tillage. They were the lords of the flood and thus the cultivators of the soil. "The mythological origin relating to this class of men is that when the inhabitants of the world were rude and ignorant of agriculture, a severe drought fell upon the land, and the people prayed to Bhūdēvi, the goddess of earth, for aid. She pitied them and produced from her body a man carrying a plough, who showed them how to till the soil and support themselves. His offsprings are the *Vellalars*, who aspire to belong to the *Vaisya* caste."—"*Castes and Tribes of South India*," Vol. VII, pp. 361, 363.

also a temple in his native village by that name. Regretting the regard paid by the king to a Jaina work "*Jeevakachintāmaṇi*" and the consequent evil effect upon the people to lean towards that religion, and in accordance with the proverb "As is the king sō are the people" Sēkkiḷār attempted to narrate the importance of *Tiruṭhoṇḍaththogai* and *Anthāthi* which narrate the merits of Saivism. The king took a fancy to that great work and directed him to compose that work in an easier style and in an enlarged form. Accordingly the prime-minister left Tiruvārūr, the then capital of the king, and went to Chidambaram and with the grace of God Naṭarāja there composed the *Periapurāṇa*, or *Thirutoṇḍarpurāṇam* in the thousand-pillared hall within the temple. He commenced the work on a *Chaitra* month *Ārudrā* asterism day and completed it on the same day next year, when the king proceeded to the place and in the midst of a great assembly of the learned received the grand work. Sēkkiḷār spent his remaining days in Chidambaram. A small shrine in his honour now exists on the northern bank of a tank which goes by the name of "Gyanavāpi" in Chidambaram. In addition to these, 3 unpublished copies of the work entitled *Sivabhakta Mahātmyam*, which describes the lives of these 63 Nāyanārs and explains the way in which they gained salvation, are available in Oriental Manuscripts Library at Madras.

There are references to these saints in the inscriptions of the temples at Tanjore, Tiruvārūr (Tanjore district) and Tiruvorriyūr* (belonging to Chingleput district and near Madras) and several other places. Though sculptures of these great men are seen in almost all Siva temples, and metal figures also exist in the temples at Avanāsi (Coimbatore district), Kalahasti, and Mylāpore within the city of Madras, it is only in the great temple at Dārāsuram near Kumbakōnam (Tanjore district) that their lives are delineated in full in bas-relief over the outer sanctum wall of the central deity. On the south wall of the Āṇḍavar shrine in the Siddharatnēswara temple at Uṭṭattūr (Trichinopoly district) is a record dated the 24th year of Chola King Kulōtunga relating to the gift for maintaining worship to the images of Siva Saints (*Nāyanmār*) in the shrine of Togumamani Nāyanār at Ūṭṭattūr.

On the first niche of the west enclosure of the great Brihadiswara temple

*The mention of the word *Tiruttoṇḍaththogai* is made and the festival to be held in honor of these 63 devotees is recorded in inscription No. 137 of 1912. [No. 241 of 1904 in the records of the Madras Epigraphical Department.] On the west base of the ruined Iswara temple at KUNIMEDU, South Arcot district, is an inscription dated *saka* 1455 during the reign of the Vijianagara king Achyutarāya, which mentions certain gifts of taxes for the performance of festivals and says that those that observe the faithful performance of the same will be considered similar in merit to the 63 *nāyanmārs*. This clearly proves what respect and admiration the *Nāyanmārs* commanded even in those days.

in Tanjore is an inscription describing some of the *Nāyanmārs*, such as Nambi-Āṛuranār (Sundaramūrti) ; Naṅgai-Paravaiyār ; Tirunāvukkaraiyar ; Tirugñana-sambandaḍigaḷ ; and a number of ornaments which had been given to these images. Again on two pillars of the west enclosure of this temple is another record relating to the 3rd year of the reign of Rājēndra-Chōladēva (10th century) recording the setting up of a copper image of Miṇāḍudaiyār who has been identified with Meyppporuṇāyanār of the *Periyapurāṇa*, in the "*South Indian Inscriptions*," Vol. II, page 167. Another on the base of the west enclosure refers to images of Siruthoṇḍa Nambi, his wife Thiruvenkāttu Nangai and their son Sīrāladēvar.

The Tyagarājaswāmi temple at TIRUVARUR contains an inscription of the Chōla king Anapāya whose name as such occurs in each of the two Sanskrit verses at the end of the inscription, while in the introductory passage the king is called Rājakēsarivarman *alias* Tribhuvanachakravartin Sri Kulōttunga Chōladēva II (1133 to 1148). In the 7th year of his reign he made gifts to the *Nāyanārs* Āḷuḍaiya-Nambi (Sundaramūrti), Paravai-Nāchiyār his wife Āḷuḍaiya-Piḷḷayār (Tirugñanasambandar) ; and Tirunāvukkarasudēvar. The translation, as recorded in the *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II, Part II, page 154, reads as follows :—

"King Anapāya whose head glitters when placed at the feet of the Lord of the Golden Hall, gave land, gold, brass, silver and other excellent treasures to the blessed Brahmapuris (Tirugñanasambandar), Vaghadipati (Thirunāvukkaraiyar) and Svasvarmāmitra (Sundaramūrti) at the shrine of the blessed Lord of Ārūr."

11. This is numbered as 269 in the Annual Report of the Madras Epigraphical Department for the year 1901.

"I, Anapāya, the bee at the lotus feet of Natēsa at the Golden Hall, in the excellent Vyāghrāgrahāra (Chidambaram), bow my head at the lotus feet of (future) princes, who are disposed to protect the charitable gifts made at Lakshmiālaya (Tiruvārūr) by other Kings. The mother of Āḷuḍaiya Nambi was Isaigñāniyār.

The mother of the saint (Sundaramūrti) called Gñani, was born at this (town of) Kamalāpura, in the family of Gñanasivāchārya, in the Saiva (doctrine and) in the Gautama Gōtra."

Another inscription of this temple dated in the 5th year of Parakēsarivarman *alias* Tribhuvanachakravartin Sri Vikrama Chōladēva (12th century) gives reference to the legend of the calf which was accidentally run over by the chariot of the son of the Chōla King, Manu. This finds a place in the introduction of the *Periyapurāna* and it is also one of the 364 *leelas* (sports) which Sri Tyāgarāja, the presiding deity here, is said to have performed in

this holy city. Sculptural representation* of the scenes relating to the dead calf, its mother cow ringing the bell in front of the palace, and the Chola King's son being trodden under the wheels of a car are all very vividly shown in front of the eastern *gopura* of the temple here.

The Annual Report of the Madras Epigraphical Department for the year 1908-09, page 103, says:—

"The revival of the Saiva religion and the consequent disappearance of the Jaina and Buddhist influence in Southern India is known to have commenced about the beginning of the 7th century A.D., when the famous Saiva Saints Appar, Tirugñānasambandar and Siruthoṇḍa Nāyanār flourished. How these saints advanced the cause of Saivism, by miracles or other means, is learnt from the stories related in the *Periyapurānam*. That they must have been very great men, even so great as to be deified by the people, is evident from the fact of their images being set up and worshipped in almost every Siva temple of the South. Tamil records are not wanting, in which provision is made for the recital of the *Tiruppadiyam*, *Tirumurai* or the *Tēvāram* hymns composed by two of the above-mentioned saints in praise of the Saiva shrines visited by them. An equally great saint and poet was Mānikkavāsagar, also called Tiruvadavūr-Nāyanār, whose famous work *Tiruvāsagam* has been edited by the Rev. G. U. Pope. The time during which Mānikkavāsagar flourished was about the middle of the 9th century. We do not know of any epigraphic evidence earlier than the records of Rājarāja I, where the recital of the sacred Saiva Hymns of the *Tēvāram* are referred to for the first time as being instituted by him. Rājēndra Chola I appears to have supported the cause of Saivism by going a step further than his father and setting up the images of some of the famous Saiva saints in the temple of Rājarājēswara at Tanjāvūr".

The following short notes of the inscriptions relating to some of the devotees are from the volumes of *Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency* issued by the Government of Madras in 1919:—

KOCHENGANNAN.

(No. 25 of 1891). On the west wall of the second prākāra of the great temple at JAMBUKESWARAM, Trichinopoly District, is a record of the Pāṇḍya king Kō-Māravarman *alias* Kulasēkharadēva, dated in his 10th year, (5th January 1278 A.D.), referring to a street called after the presiding God here, who transformed a spider into this king, as narrated in the *Periyapurāna*. This is also dealt with in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VI, page 39.

* This is illustrated in Plate X, Fig. 3 and Plate XI. of the Annual Report of the Archæological Department, Madras, for the year 1911-12.

MEYPPORULNAYANAR.

(No. 100 of 1888). Inside the west Prākāra of the great temple, TANJORE, (7th and 8th pillars) is a record of the 3rd year of Ko-Parakēsarivarman *alias* Rājēṇdra Chōladēva I, recording the setting up of the image of Miladudaiyar, who is popularly known as Meypporulnāyanār.

SIRUTTONDA.

(No. 56 of 1913). On the west wall of the Ganapatīswara temple, TIRUCHENGATTANGUDI, Tanjore District, is a record of Chōla king Rājakēsari-varman Rājarājadēva I, in his 3rd year, making gifts of land for the burning of 2 lamps to the shrine of Śirāladēva, son of Siruttoṇḍa, who was sacrificed to Siva when, in the form of Bhairava, he appeared as a guest of Siruttoṇḍa. Again in his 19th year of this king (No. 57 of 1913) he made gifts of land for feeding the devotees attending the festival of *Sittirai Tiruvādirai* when the image of Sirāladēva was taken in procession to the *Maṇḍapa* of Siruttonda; also (No. 59 of 1913) and No. 63 of 1913 on the west base of the *Maṇḍapa* in front of the Ganapatīswara shrine records that Rājarājadēva III in his 3rd year, made gift of land to the shrine of Siruttoṇḍa. No. 66 of 1913, on the north wall of the *maṇḍapa* in front of Ganapatiswara temple, contains the record of Kulōtuṅga III, in his 8th year and 330th day, relating to the purchase of land for laying out a road to carry the procession of Sirāla from the *maṇḍapa* of Siruttoṇḍa to the village of Tirumurugal and the worship of Sīrala (No. 67 of 1913). No. 69 of 1913 on the north base of the *maṇḍapa* in front of Ganapatīswara is a record relating to Rājarāja III providing offerings in the *Maṇḍapa* called Tirumuttuvānēri during the festival of *Sittirai-Baraṇi* when the God Uttarapata gave salvation to Siruttoṇḍa. No. 77 of 1913 of Rājēndra III (1245-67) on the 2nd *Gōpura*, left of entrance, provides for the *Baraṇi* festival of Sittirai and Arpasi months. Another record in the same place (No. 76 of 1913) of the Pāndya king Parākrama provides for the repairs to the Sīrāla-Siruttoṇḍa-Maṇḍapa.

NAMINANDI ADIGAL.

(No. 179 of 1894). On the south wall of the 2nd *prākāra* of Vēdagirīswara temple TIRUKKALUKUNRAM is a record of Kullōtunga I, dated in his 42nd year, relating to the maintenance of a *matha* to this devotee.

TIRUNAVUKKARASU.

(No. 121 of 1904). On the south wall of the *maṇḍapa* in front of Sivānkurēswara temple, TIRTHANAGIRI (Cuddalore taluk,) is a record of the Pāndya king Vīra-Pāṇḍya, in his 9th year for the celebration of 12 festivals commencing with that of Appar *alias* Tirunāvukkarasu.

(No. 316 of 1909). A detached stone built into the south wall of the

maṇḍapa in front of the Añjanākshi-amman shrine within the temple of Kachchapēswara, TIRUKKACHCHUR (Chingleput Taluq), contains a fragmentary record of Kulōtunga III referring to the setting up of an image of Appar.

(No. 303 of 1911). The epigraph on the north wall of the central shrine in Daṇḍīswara temple VELACHCHERI, Chingleput District, records in the 25th year of Kulōtuṅga III gift of land in this village to the *matha* of Tirunāvukkarasu at Tiruvānmiyūr.

NARASINGAR.

(No. 120 of 1900). On the south wall of the central shrine of Trivikrama temple, TIRUKKOYILUR, South Arcot District, is a record relating to architect Sembangudaiyan Nārāyana Āditya *alias* Sōlasundara Mūvēndavēlan having rebuilt the central shrine for the merit of Narasingavanmar who was the lord of Milāḍu.

KANNAPPAR.

(No. 247 of 1906). On the east wall *of Maṇḍapa* in front of the Kripānāthaswāmi shrine in the temple of TIRUPPANANGADU (Cheyyār taluq, North Arcot district) is a record which mentions the name of some hunters who claimed to belong to the family of Tirukkaṇṇappar.

(No. 628 of 1902). The inscription on the north wall of the maṇḍapa in front of the Central shrine of Kapardīswara at TIRUVALANJULI (Tanjore district) records gifts of land to Tirukkaṇṇappadēvar.

SUNDARAR.

(No. 418 of 1909). On the east wall of the 2nd prākāra of the Vyāghrapādēswara temple, SIDDHALINGAMADAM (Tirukkōyilūr taluk), South Arcot District, is a record of the Pāndya king Jaṭāvarman *alias* Sundara Pāṇḍya (A.D. 1270-1302) providing for the offerings in the shrine of Āludaiya Piḷḷayār.

(No. 371 of 1911). On the east wall of the 2nd *prākāra* in the Ādhipuriswara temple TIRUVOTHIYUR, Chingleput District, is a record of Rājādhirāja II (1172—86) relating to his hearing the *purāṇa* of Āludaiya Nambi on a *Paṅguni-Uttiram* day and another (No. 114 of 1912) on the west wall of the Central shrine of the same temple records a gift of 12 buffaloes for a lamp, a silver lamp-stand, and a silver *kāḷam* (bugle) for the Goddess Aludaiya Nāchiyār in the 11th year of Kulōtuṅga.

(No. 181 of 1909). On the west wall of Avaṉāsiswara temple, AVANASI, Coimbatore District, is a record of the 31st year of Sundara-Pāṇḍya making gifts to the shrine of Sundara Nāyanār, on the tank-bund at Pukkuliyūr. (Avanāsi).

SAMBANDAR.

(No. 238 of 1912). On the gōpura of the Ādhipurīswara temple, TIRUVOTHJYUR, Chingleput District, right of entrance, is a record of Vijayagaṇḍagōpāladēva, in his 15th year (2nd Septr. 1264) for feeding in the *Tiruǰñānasambhandar-Matha* at this place.

ĀDICHANDESWARA.

In the Cholēswara temple, VELLATTUKOTTAI (Vellutercota, Tiruvallūr Taluk, Chingleput District), is a record of the Hoysala King Rāmanātha's 8th year, when the oil-mongers of Vallam undertook to supply oil daily for a lamp to Ādichaṇḍēswara.

(No. 83 of 1888). Inside east *gōpura* on the second pillar of Brihadēswara temple, TANJORE, is a record which describes the copper images made by Rājarājadēva I, to represent scenes from the life of Chaṇḍēswara and the lord of his heart.

KUNGILIYAKKALAYA NAYANAR.

(No. 40 of 1914). On the north wall of the first *prākāra* of the Arunajatēswara temple at TIRUPPANANDAL, Tanjore District, is an inscription which records gift of land for offerings to the images of Tirukkadavūr Kungiliyakkalaya-Nāyanār, who is said to have turned the face of the deity to its normal position from which it had previously been diverted by the Lord's desire to save Tātaki's shame, and other Saiva devotees in the temple at TIRUPPANANDAL.

TIRUMULAR.

(No. 116 of 1911). The epigraph on the north wall of the Central shrine of Manatunai-Isar of VALIVALAM in the Negapatam Taluq, Tanjore District, records sale of land to the *matha* of this Saint, whose tradition is connected with Tiruvāduturai, by the priests of the temple.

MANAKKANJARAN.

(No. 255 of 1916). On the gōpura of the Nityēsvara temple at SRIMUSHNAM, South Arcot District, above the figure of Saint Mānakkañjāran, is an inscription which states that this holy personage recited the *Tiruppadiyam* of this temple and quitted his life there.

NOTES.

The Buddhist Image from Nepal.*

The following note has been received from a valued source :—

With regard to the reading of the inscription, two constructions are possible—

1.....Vajrâchârya Sri Talaghrikradhana Mayajuni Snutyanâmana dayakajûla.

The meaning is :—

This Vajrapratimâ (Heruka-vajra image) Vajrâchârya—Talaghri—kradhana, by Maya-Yogini of the name Snutya, has been given (*lit.* gift has been made)= Vajracharya Talaghrikradhana has been given this Vajrapratimâ by Maya-Yogini of the name Snutya.

Or

2..... .....Vajrâchârya Sri Talaghrikradhanâmâya Juni Snutya-nâmano daya kajula.

The meaning is :—

This Vajrapratimâ (Heruka-vajra image) to Vajrâchârya of the name Talaghrikradha, by Yogini of the name Snutya, has been given = This Vajrapratimâ has been given to Vajrâchârya of the name, Talaghrikradha by Yogini of the name Snutya.

The latter construction agrees better with the reading Kajula which agrees with Vajrapratimâ in gender. Kajûlâ is a passive participle. In many of the northern Indian vernaculars the Sanskrit perfect participle 'Ta' is changed into 'la'. The Preterite forms are derived from the perfect participle, and had originally a passive significance, though later they have acquired an active sense.

The Image.—The type of the Heruka-Vajra type, representing the combination of Snutya and Karuṇâ. Sunnata stands for 'Parinishthita rûpam paramârtha satyam (absolute reality)' and Karuṇâ stands for 'Samvriti-Satya-rûpam (phenomenal existence).'

The image represents Śûnyakaruṇayoh abhinna-murtih. From the metaphysical point of view, the cult signifies the union of the two orders of existence, *viz.*, the Absolute and the Phenomenal. The Agama says :—

Bhavebhya-sśûnyatâ nânyâ na cha bhavo sti-tâm vinâ!

Again, as Sarahapada writes (in an Apabhramśa dialect)

Suna karuna johi joina vena vikasai
No bhavo no nivvana thakkai =
(in Sanskrit) "Sunnyakarune yasya hi yoginah dvayam vikasati tasya na bhavo na nirvanam tishthati.

* *Vide* pp. 98-99 of Vol. XII, No. 1, of this Journal

There remains neither birth (samsâra) nor nirvâna for the Yogin to whom the two (Śûnya and karuṇâ) unfold themselves.

The male figure in the image represents Śûnyatâ, and the female figure Karuṇâ. The flower is the lotus (kamala). The thunderbolt is vajra.

The meaning of Vajra :—

Definition.—Dridham sâramasaushiryamachhedyâbhedya-lakshaṇam
Adahi châvinâśi cha Śûnyatâ vajramuchyate.
Hard, pithy, rigid, indiscerptible, indivisible, incombustible, imperishable, such is Sûnyatâ which is called Vajra. (From Yogaratnamâlâ.)

The characteristics of Vajrasatva or Vajradhara :
"Dvâtrimśallakshaṇayuto vyanjanâśîtyalamkritah."

The halo in the image surrounding the two figures is called the jyotih-prastra (prabhâpaṭala). Compare the Âgama.
Yo jyotih-prasaro yogindrâṇâmasau svângâdeva vinirgatah trailokyamâkrâmati.
The halo from the Yogini is sometimes called Yoginî-jâla.

The Mahâyâna emphasises karuṇâ (pity), which would bring deliverance to the suffering world even at the cost of one's own release from bondage. Even in Nirvâna or Mukti there was the perturbation, though a painless one, due to karuṇâ or pity.

The Vajrayâna, on the other hand, taught that one must not forget the Absolute Nothingness (void) of the world out of pity for suffering creatures. The Buddha was Vajrasatva, and had the characteristics, namely, Dridham sâramasaushiryam, etc.

The Yogi should therefore realize the Unity of the Absolute and the Phenomenal and seek to combine his karuṇâ with the knowledge of the Absolute as Śûnya or Void.

This was afterwards symbolised by the Union of the two figures in the Vajrasatva-pratimâ. Compare the Yugala-rupa in Vaishnavism.

These notes are strictly confined to the metaphysical significance (esoteric meaning) of this form of Vajrayâna.

Treasure Trove.

Section 16 of the Treasure Trove Act (VI of 1878) requires the Collector, should he desire to acquire any treasure, to pay to the claimant a sum equivalent to the value of the materials plus one-fifth of such value. It is clear that the market value of such treasure may be greatly in excess of 120 per cent of its intrinsic value. This fact, it is believed, operates to prevent the declaration, by the finders of treasure trove, of coins and other antiquities which may fall in their possession.

The Government of India have considered the matter. They are not in favour of any amendment of the Act in the direction of permitting or requiring a larger payment to the claimant. It is clear that the market value of an antique is depend-

ent upon a variety of factors and cannot be foretold with accuracy at the time of acquisition. The circumstances also in which a find may be made vary very greatly and the force of the claim which may be put forward will also vary with such circumstances. For this and other reasons it would be inconvenient to specify in the Act any proportion of the market value of an antique which it should be incumbent upon the Collector to pay.

At the same time, the Government of India feel that the law, as it stands, may in certain cases inflict hardship upon claimants and that public museums are possibly deprived of valuable relics which, were the terms offered more generous, would be preserved for the benefit of the public and for investigation by the antiquarian. They think that the difficulty which has been placed before them can best be treated by executive order. They accordingly propose that special rewards should be allotted to the legal claimants in the case of valuable finds.

The Government of India will provide a reasonable sum in the budget of the Archæological Department to meet this expenditure. Care will have to be exercised in order to ensure that such special rewards are given only in the case of finds which are of distinct historical or archæological interest. With a view to introducing some uniformity in the amounts thus given and for obvious reasons connected with the archæological budget, the assessment of any special reward would in all cases rest with the Director-General of Archæology. Any such special reward given would be supplementary to the amount payable to the claimant under section 16 of the Act.

In case of a find which is judged by the Collector to be deserving of a special reward, it would be convenient if the local Superintendent of Archæology were, in the first instance, consulted. Thereafter, the Local Government would address the Director-General of Archæology forwarding at the same time the opinion of the Superintendent of Archæology. The Director-General would, if he considered that there was reason for giving a special reward, assess the amount which in his opinion appeared justifiable.—*Publicity Bureau, Madras.*

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE following letter from Mr. B. Lewis Rice, C.I.E., the pioneer Archæologist and Antiquarian of Mysore, is published for the information of our members.

[Editor, Q. J. M. S.]

Greenhelgh,
Harrow-on-the-Hill,
21st September 1921.

DEAR FATHER TABARD,

I need hardly say that I have been greatly interested from time to time in seeing reports about the Mythic Society and some of the journals. Permit me to offer you hearty congratulations on the great success which has attended your efforts in connexion with the Society, and on the well-established condition of its status and affairs.

I saw that you had applied to the Mysore Government for copies of all their archæological publications, to add to your growing and important Library. The series of the "Epigraphia Carnatica" you are sure to be able to obtain from the Archæological Department. But I am under the impression that you may not get the revised edition of the 'Coorg Inscription', which was the first volume. I am therefore taking the opportunity of sending you a copy which, I hope, will be acceptable. It quite supersedes the original first volume which was very imperfect.

The works in my 'Bibliotheca Carnatica' you will also be able to obtain from the Archæological Department, with the exception of perhaps the most important, namely, the 'Karṇāṭaka Sabdānusasanam,' which is an elaborate and learned grammatical work, after the system of Pāṇini in Sanskrit. This has long been out of print, but a new edition is in hand.

Trusting that your institution will long continue to flourish under your able control.

I remain,
Yours sincerely,
B. L. RICE.

SIR,

May I be permitted to point out two mistakes in the "Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society" for October 1921? They occur on page 112, lines 8 and 9 from the bottom, "for this purpose *palas* (*ficus indicus*) wood is used." *Ficus* being feminine, the second part of the name should be *indica* in order to agree in gender; but the *palas* tree is not a *ficus* at all; it is the *Butea frondosa* according to Brandis it is called *Muttuga* by the Canarese and *Mudugu* by the Tamils—an indigenous tree

and the true "Flame of the Forest". This is not to be confused with the "Flamboyante" (*Poinciana regia*) an introduced tree which adds so greatly to the colour and splendour of Bangalore during the hot months.

Indian Institute of Science, Hebbal.

Yours truly,
MRS. M. E. HAY.

Tholkapya's Religion II.

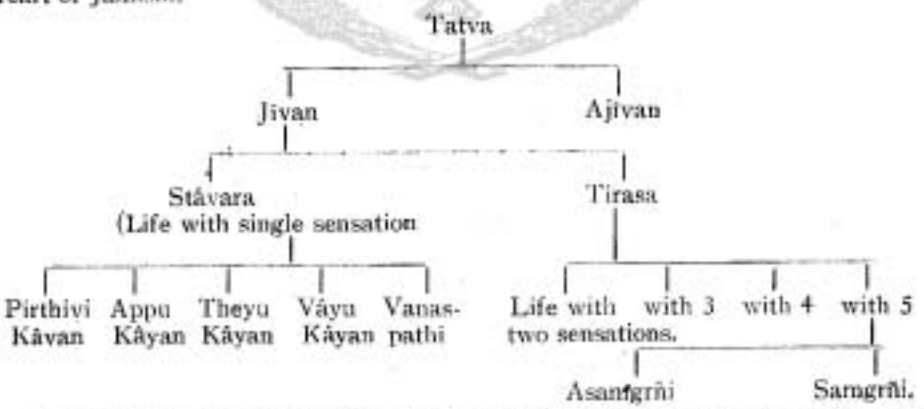
SIR,

Mr. K. G. Sankara criticised my last note in the same issue. He says: "If Tholkâpya was a Jain, he may use *padimai* for the *vrata* of Vaiśya Jains, as Jains too have castes." I think, he meant thereby, one of the following propositions true:

1. The *whole* population of the Tamil land was Jain.
2. Tholkâpya was meant *only* for the Jain Tamils.

Else Tholkâpya, according to him, would not have used that word *padimai* when speaking the duties of Vaiśyas. Well, let it pass.

Later on, Mr. S. Vaiyâpuri Pillai continued his original article (Sen Tamizh, Vol. XIX, page 114) that Tholkâpya was a Jain. Tholkâpya, when dealing with the customs (*Maraabu*) divides the creation into six parts according to their capacity of sensation (Marabiyal, 27). Mr. Pillai shows that this division is peculiar only to Jains and quotes from standard books. He shows the following table from 'The Heart of Jainism.'



He also says that this division is found in Naṉṉûl, another Tamizh grammar by a Jain, Pavaṇandi and draws the attention of the readers to the commentary of Mayilainatha of that portion.

But it has been objected that the division we see in Tholkâpya is Vaidika. Jains divided the creation only into *five* divisions, *sparśam, rasam, gandham, srûpam,* and *śaptham* respectively.

It is this division that is used in his quotations.

Nannūl also uses the division of *five* only. But in Tholkâpya we see a sixth. *Manas* (Mind). Gita says "*Manaskshashṭanindriyani.*" Mr. Navanithakrishna Bhârathi quotes the following verses from Kâmiygam :—

वृक्षादिरेकबुद्धिश्चजन्तुकाद्विमतिस्तथा । वम्रियादिस्त्रिमतिश्चैवभ्रमरश्चतुरेवच ॥

पक्षिपंचमतिश्चैवषण्मतिर्मानुषोभवेत् । भोज्याचैकमतिस्सर्वैःअस्यश्चापरमात्मनः ॥

Thus we see that the division of creation into five is Jain and into six is Vaidika. Again there is a great difference. Tholkâpya says this when dealing with the custom of the people. But it is not so in Nannūl.

It has also been shown clearly that all the commentators on Tholkâpya went on with the opinion that Tholkâpya was a Vaidika, for instance, Pêrâsiriyar says in one place "Since the author is a Vaidika sage" ("இச்சூத்திரஞ் செய்தான் வைதிக முனிவனாதலின்" சொல்லதிகாரம், மெய்யாக்கம், "கமழ முமக முயிர யுடம்பிட" என்னும் சூத்திரத்தின் உரை.) It is not necessary to deal with this further for K. G. Sankara wrote to me on 16th Sept., "but I must agree now there is no evidence to make out Tholkâpya as a Jain."

Kumbakonam,
19th Oct. 1921.

T. N. SUBRAMANIAM.

DEAR SIR,

I send the following particulars for publication in your valued journal, in the hope that some learned member will throw further light in regard to them :—

In 1914, I was on two months' leave and in the course of my travel, went to a petty village. There I heard that there was a book in a town about 15 miles off where the whole history of a man's life had already been recorded in brief with his name, parents' names, etc. I could not believe it. However I went to that town (Tiruvalur, Tanjore District, Madras Presidency) the next day. On making enquiries, I learnt that there were two men there who had portions of the said book. I did not know to whom I should go and where my life history would be found. After a lot of wavering, I went to one of them. His name was Thangavelu Nadar (a toddy-drawer by caste). He was a young man of about 25 and he told me that he was not an astrologer but that it was true that he had a portion of the book of which I had heard. Then I asked him whether my life-history would be found on the portion of the book with him or in that with the other man and told him that I was puzzled as to whom I should go to, because I did not want to waste my time as I had leave only for a few days more. His reply was striking. He said "Sir, I do not ask you to go to me or to the other man. Everything is pre-ordained I know that God has so arranged that you will go only to that man with whom your life history will be found." After a few minutes thought and hesitation, I went into his house and sat there. My mother, my cook, and three friends had come with me out of curiosity and they also sat close to me. It was a big hall and about 30 persons were already sitting there. The man (Thangavelu Nadar) also came and took his seat in his usual place close to the wall so that we were all in front of him. Close to him, there were a number of books written in palm leaf (like the books of

olden days which are to be found in almost every Hindu house-hold). He took one of those books at random, opened it also at random and began to read. The book was in Tamil poetry (Stanzas). He read the first stanza which was an invocation to a deity. The next stanza gave a horoscope. He looked up and asked the whole assembly (about 35) whether anybody wanted the details of that horoscope. The reply was in the negative. Then he turned that palm leaf over and read the next leaf. As before, the first stanza was an invocation to a deity and the next a horoscope. The man looked up again and asked us all if anybody wanted him to read further. One of the men present said "Yes". Then the man (Nadar) went on. It was in the form of a conversation between Parvati (a Hindu Goddess consort of Paramasiva) and her son Subrahmanya. As the Nadar read stanza by stanza, the other man said that every detail read out was perfectly correct. The name of that man (socially very insignificant), the name of the village where he was born, the names of his parents and of his wife were all there already written. I was simply stunned. I could not understand how it would have been possible to write such details of a man's life previously. That palm leaf was read out in about 20 minutes. To my surprise the next leaf gave out my own horoscope. I may say here that I went in there at about 10 A. M. and that my horoscope came in at about 11 A. M. When the Nadar looked up after reading the horoscope (*i.e.* 2nd stanza) and asked the assembly if it related to any one, I asked him to read it on. As in the previous case, this leaf gave the name of my birth-place, my parents' names, my name and my wife's name and the chief details of my life. The last stanza was most wonderful. As a proof of the details given in the previous stanzas, it gave out the order in which myself, my mother, my cook and three friends were sitting there then. I was spell bound and my feelings were beyond expression. When I regained myself, I asked the Nadar to remove the palm leaf from his book and hand it over to me as it related to me and as there could not be any other man in the world with the same details of life. He agreed and took out the leaf and gave it to me. *It is with me now.* As the writing was very small and difficult to read, I had the whole thing transcribed in a note book and that too is with me now. I was then 40 years old and it had been predicted that my wife would die within my 45 years and the prediction became true in February 1918. I have a boy about 8 years old and last year (after my wife's death) I had the book consulted about his life. There also, his name, my name, my wife's name and other details are given. It has been clearly predicted therein that he would lose his mother in his seventh year. The stanzas give details of his life till about his 45th year and then say that his son's horoscope should be consulted for further details of his life beyond his 45th year. Curious! Is it not? My son is only about 8 years old now and his son's life too appears to have been already written in that book, *i.e.* the details of the life of one who is to be born years hence, have already been written.

I cannot understand how this is possible but all the same, there was the book at Tiruvalur,* Tanjore District, Madras Presidency.

*The man is said to be at Villipuram now.

You will agree with me that the whole thing is miraculous and is worth investigation. As I have already said, the Nadar (who has got the books) is a very ordinary man and knows only the rudiments of astrology. Even granting that he is an expert in astrology, it is not possible to give the names of the individuals, etc. I asked him where he got the books from and he said that he and another man bought them in an out-of-the-way village in the south of the Presidency, that they both came to Tiruvalur to earn their livelihood with those books and that they divided the books between themselves after some months as they fell out with each other.

Dear Sir, I have written the whole thing at length as it occurred. You are at liberty to deal with it as you like. My address is, Personal Assistant to the Collector of Trichinopoly, Madras Presidency.

Yours sincerely,

Dated, 29th Sept. 1921. S. KRISHNAMURTHI AIYAR.

REVIEWS.

Dhwaja, Vol. I., No. 3.

No. 3. of the magazine of the Java-Institute, "Djawa" contains some very interesting articles. The printing, etc., of this number is as well attended to as that of former numbers.

We have here three good photos of an ancient rock temple in the island of Bâli, which, according to the accompanying article was built at a time, when the religion there was a mixture of Shivaism and Buddhism.

Further do we find a description of a marriage-ceremony in West Java (Soenda) and then a description of a game played in Central-Java formerly only by girls, but now also older people take a part therein, by which the devas are invited to send showers of rain. A big spoon, made out the $\frac{3}{4}$ part of a cocoanut shell, ordinarily used to scoop up water, and which is for this occasion dressed up as a doll, plays the leading part in the game.

The last article from the hand of Mr. D. Van Hinloopen Lubberton on the volcanology of Java is exceptionally interesting. The author points out among other things, at the hand of old Javanese manuscripts, how the downfall of the great Empire of Central-Java is to be attributed to a great volcanic eruption. The old Javanese had a curious way of remembering their chronology by rhymes, in which certain nouns stand for certain numbers: sun meaning 12, darts standing for 5, the seasons for 6, etc....

The next number we are promised, will contain a report of this year's Congress of the Java-Institute to be held at Bandoeng.

E.L.

The International Bureau of Sciences.

(Trichur, Cochin State.)

THE above high sounding title is the name of an organization started in July 1921 at Trichur with the following objects:—

1. To promote mutual interchange of ideas between scientific men amongst different nations.
2. To promote scientific enquiry and systematic work in the departments of Zoology, Geology, Botany, Art, Anthropology, History, etc., etc., with special reference to Malabar.
3. To serve as the medium for transmitting ideas to and from foreign countries.

4. And to render all assistance and give all possible encouragements (*sic*) to Research Scholars in general.

Various grades of membership are instituted, membership (annual subscription Rs. 5), Associateship (Rs. 30 election fee and Rs. 7 annual subscription), Graduate membership (Rs. 7 annual subscription and also promotion fee Rs. 45 for non-graduates only) special membership (Rs. 15 annually) and Fellowship. A life membership (donation Rs. 150) covers all classes except fellowship. One feels it difficult to follow this bewildering classification of membership and the underlying principle, if any, other than financial.

Despite the "audacity" in assuming the high-sounding name, we welcome this new organization to the rank of research bodies, and sincerely hope that it will be able to interpret the peculiar customs, traditions and usages of the "West Coast" to the outside world and make its characteristics more widely known. In respect of its history also, there is still considerable work to do, while in Ethnology and Ethnography Malabar is of special interest to the student. Malabar was for centuries the principal meeting place of seafaring nations in South India, and the colonies of Syrian Christians, and Jews, and the origin and growth of the Moplah community afford problems of enthralling interest.

We hope that the International Bureau of Sciences will set to work with considerable enthusiasm undaunted by the magnitude of the task before it. Work of such bodies is greatly wanted, and we await with interest the series of Reports and Researches that the Prospectus and the Rules promise.

A.V.R.

Madras Epigraphical Report 1920-21.

THE report before us furnishes a record of very good work. Sixteen copper-plates were examined during the year and 675 inscriptions were copied during the year. The inscriptions cover a wide period ranging from as early as the days of Pulikesari II. who reigned about A. D. 609—642. An inscription of the King's reign refers to an *agrahar* as "having been under the management of twenty-seven *mahajans* who made gifts of land jointly." Another record of similar interest is one of Somesvara III. of the Chālukya dynasty of Kalyāni which gives the State officials who were present at the time of the gift recorded in it. "They were (1) the *mahapradhana* (chief minister), (2) *Antahpuradhyaksha* (superintendent of the harem), (3) *Karitarangasahnavergade* (minister for elephant forces and cavalry) (4) *Sri-karanam* (chief accountant), (5) *Hiresandhivigrahi* (senior minister for foreign affairs), (6) *Pasayita* (master of the robes), (7) *Senadhipati* (general), (8) *Manevergade* (Palace Comptroller); (9) *Hadapadava* (bearer of the betel-pouch), (10) *Kadidavergade* (Secretary for correspondence) and (11) *Rajadhyaksha* (king's representative)." Some copper-plates secured in Gooty taluk but considered as forgeries

referred to as mentioning besides the usual twelve village officers (*barabaluti*), the *barika* (a menial who guards the fields) and *shikar* (hunter) who is also called *kirata* or *yenadi* in other parts of the country. Some of the Gooty plates throw light also on the system of leasing out cultivable lands. Such leases were granted to the village community jointly. The parties to the lease are the Chief on the one side as the lessor and the *Gauda* or Reddi (headman) *Sevabova* or *karaṇam* (accountant) and the *samastaprajas* (people) of the village as the lessees. An inscription dated in the 28th year of the Rāshtrakūta King Krishna III. was found recording the important "settlement by the village assembly of Kāvaṇūr that when the lands which are gifts to gods, physicians, for free feeding or worship (?) and which are ājīvikas, are mortgaged or sold, the mortgagee and the purchaser must be of the same caste as that of the mortgagor or seller." An inscription of the time of Virūpāksha I of Vijianagar, the following taxes are mentioned:—*kamugu—kaḍamai [koḷu] ndu kaḍamai*, and *pattapal kaḍamai*. An inscription of the time of Jatāvarman Tribhuvana-chakravartin Sundara Pandya states that the trustees of certain temples in Chidambaram came to an agreement and decided to remit the dues on lands given for worship and offerings to the temples, care being taken to enhance the rent proportionately on the remaining lands in the village so as to recoup the amount remitted.

An inscription of quite a different kind of interest is one of the Vijianagar King Kampa, the son of Bukka I, recording that the King conferred the title of Karuṇākaradāsan upon Śri Parakāla-nambi, together with certain honours, privileges and a dwelling house.

An inscription of great economic interest is one of 1317 A.D. It gives us a glimpse into the method of tenancy-cultivation prevalent in mediæval times. "It is stated that in the case of *kar*, single crop and a second crop, $\frac{1}{10}$ should go to the landlord as his rightful share under the vāram tenure, that the dues, *paḷḷi*, *paḍi-kaval*, *peram-paḍikaval*, sūdu (sheaves of corn) given to servants, *aṟaivadai* and ālkūli should be charged on the village in common and that the remainder should be distributed between the landlord and the tenant in the ratio of 1 : 4. The straw and the green-gram (payaṟu) that is generally sown just before or after the harvest have to be equally decided between them. The *kuḍimai* right is next stated and here in the case of *kar* and for the single crop, $\frac{1}{2}$ *panam* and $\frac{1}{4}$ *panam* for the second crop, for every plot of land (māttāl ?) should be given ; as regards the threshing expenses, for a single crop, 1 *tuni* and 1 padakku for a plot (?) ; and for the 2nd crop, $\frac{1}{2}$ of the above to be borne in common ; and in the case of dry crops, such as turmeric, castor-seeds, cotton and gingelly, seedgrain to be supplied by the landlord and the yield to be divided equally (*śeṣvaram*). Supplying of coolies, storing of grain in the landlord's granary and the work of repairing ridges in fields seem to have devolved exclusively on the landlord."

These inscriptions have been selected as illustrative and not exhaustive. Several other interesting questions arise out of, or are elucidated by, the records brought to light during the year. But before they can be made use of by the student of history, they have to be given in their fulness and abstracts cannot

avail much. This brings us to the only weak point in the year's work. The publication of the volumes of South Indian Inscriptions is sadly in arrears, and we are told that while 6000 pages of manuscript are with the Press, no proofs were received from April 1920 to February 1921. We appeal to the Madras Government for more expeditious publication of the available records.

A. V. R.

The Heart of the Bhagavadgita.

The Gaekwad Studies in Religion and Philosophy III.

BY L. M. BHAGAVAT OF KURUTKOTI.

PUBLISHED BY PROFESSOR A. G. WIDGERY,

The College, Baroda. Price Rs. 2-4-0.

WE must apologize for the delay that has unfortunately occurred in our noticing this book. We have read it at a stretch and have found it an entrancing one. Whether for the new point of view advanced or for the clearness with which the view point is expounded, it is a remarkable book. The kernel of the author's theory is thus summarized by himself :—

We have shown in the preceding pages how all the four Yogas lead to this ideal Yoga and how as such they are not really so many distinct paths, but are really inter-related. This explains why the Gita begins with Jnana and introduces Karma Yoga and finally concludes with Dhyana Yoga in one place, while it begins with Karma Yoga and treating of the other two Yogas concludes with the Jnana Yoga in another place. We may select here a passage in the last chapter of the Gita, where this inter-relation is more clearly suggested than elsewhere in the work. "Devoted each to his own duty, man attains perfection; how devoted to one's own duty one attains success, that do thou hear. Him from whom is the evolution of all beings, by whom all this is pervaded, by worshipping Him with his proper duty, man attains perfection" (xviii—45—46). This shows how Karma Yoga and Bhakti Yoga are related, how actions performed as worship become a means of perfection. Again "He whose mind is free from attachment everywhere, whose self is subdued, from whom desire has fled, he by renunciation attains that supreme state of freedom from action." (xviii—49). Here is indicated the relation between Karma Yoga and Jnana Yoga, how actlessness of the self is realized through unselfish work. Take these verses now. "Endowed with a pure mind, controlling the self with firmlessness, leaving aside objects like sound, giving up love and hatred, resorting to a sequestered spot, eating but little, speech and body and mind subdued, always engaged in meditation and concentration, taking refuge in dispassion, having abandoned egotism, strength, arrogance, desire, enmity, property, -free from the notion of mine and peaceful, he becomes fit for becoming Brahman." (xviii—51—53). We are told in these slokas Dhyana Yoga leads to Brahma Vidya or realization of the Brahman. Thus it is quite possible to conceive of how Karma Yoga necessarily involves Bhakti Yoga and Jnana Yoga and through Dhyana Yoga leads to realization of the Brahman. And we might quote other similar passages to establish similar sequences of Yoga in a different order. This should be enough, therefore, to show not only that the Gita does not consider the Yogas as mutually exclusive, but also that it implies the necessity of a certain order of discipline to be followed. But still the fact remains, that according to the temperament of the religious aspirant he would be called a Yogin in accordance with the method preferred by him. It is this peculiarity of the Gita that has baffled many a commentator, who started with a preconceived theory that the Gita wanted to establish a particular Yoga as supreme. As it is not

the purpose of the present attempt to critically examine any of these theories, we may simply repeat here again the observation made in the introductory remarks that none of these exclusive theories can find any support in the Gita. According to the Gita, we may repeat the ideal Yoga is EQUANIMITY and whatever leads up to that Yoga is itself a Yoga.

The value of the *Gita* as a guide to practical life is set out in the concluding pages of the book (p. 219, *et seq*) but we cannot retail it here. It ought to be read in the book itself. The author strikes new ground in his interpretation of the Gita and if for nothing else, at least for its novel views, it deserves to be studied by all interested in that famous book.

We ought to add Dr. S. Subramania Iyer writes a notable Foreword to the volume and Professor Widgery a helpful Preface. Perhaps we might hazard a remark. Books of this kind should be published at a lower price than apparently it has been possible for those responsible for the issue of this one. The very object of the publishers is, we think, defeated by prizing them at a figure at which it becomes all but prohibitive to the ordinary purchaser. We put in this plea not in a spirit of carping criticism but in the view that it might prove useful to publishers all round in India.

V. S.

Goods and Bads: Outlines of the Philosophy of Life.

BY A. G. WIDGERY,

Professor of Philosophy, Baroda.

(The Gaekwad Studies in Religion and Philosophy XVI.)

THIS is a most readable book on the most abstruse philosophical topics that have troubled mankind from the dawn of history. The book is made up of the substance of a series of talks and discussions which the author appears to have had with H.H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda. Those who know H.H. know his versatility. The book shows him in a new light. That H.H. has found time for discussions of this kind shows his interest in the age-long questions of "goods" and "bads". Professor Widgery in his Open Letter to H.H. prefixed to this volume, observes: "The purpose of this book as it now appears is to give a sketch of general philosophy and indications of some definite attitudes towards some of the main problems of life. In the pursuit of this aim you have continually given me the great benefit of your far wider experience." There, in a few words, is the object of the book and the circumstances under which it has been written. To indicate the lines on which the book has been worked out, we would add for the benefit of our readers, that besides a suggestive introduction, there are chapters on the following topics:—Physical values, Intellectual values, Aesthetic values, Moral values, Religious values, The Good Life and Epilogue, the last of which defines the position of humour in philosophy. The book is easily read and is altogether a brilliant

piece of writing considering the nature of the subject. Lay readers will find it a most valuable one. The following passage will bear quotation from it:—

"The eventual realization of the highest ideals and the greatest hopes can be disproved by none. No effort of human thought can show that the future is not at least in part open. The Philosophy of life can recognize no arbitrary limits to the possible human attainment of the good life. And human faith is one of the most powerful forces leading to that result. But by faith should be meant nothing less than an active personal attitude confident in ultimate triumph, even though the character of the good life is only dimly perceived and only gradually becomes known. In its peering into the beyond, whether of the innermost character of the present realities or of the furthermost future, faith has never been described better than in the words of the writer of THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS: "Faith is the substance of things hoped for the evidence of things not seen." V.S.

Indian Archaeological Report 1918-19, Part 1.

STUDENTS of Indian History and Antiquities can never be sufficiently grateful for the sustained enthusiasm of the officers of the Indian Archæological Department in the discovery of new data and the conservation of known monuments and inscriptions, under the distinguished and able guidance of Sir John Marshall. The Calcutta University has recently given signal proof of this widespread recognition of his valuable work by conferring on Sir John Marshall an honorary doctorate, and we humbly join in the chorus of congratulations and tribute on this occasion. Though the Director-General opens his report modestly with the words, "All things considered, the work during the year 1918-19 was satisfactory", we believe we are reflecting general opinion when we say that the work is indeed very satisfactory and the progress substantial, despite depleted staffs and curtailed grants. The various provincial reports have already been reviewed in the pages of this journal from time to time, and it is therefore unnecessary to review at length the contents of the volume before us which summarises all those reports. The conservation of Sultana Raziya's tomb, the unearthing of a group of two dozen *stupas* and a long *chaukrama* (or promenade) measuring 162 feet in length and 8 feet in width at Sarnath, the rehabilitation of the Gagan Mahal, the celebrated Hall of Audience of the Adil Shāhi Sultans of Bijapur, the complete renovation of monastery No. I at Nalanda, the restoration of the palaces at Chandragiri and at Mandalay, improvements to the valuable remains at Ajanta, Sanchi, Taxila and Sarnath, and the discovery of groups of new temples, of Chalukyan design at Nagansur in the Akalkot State, Sholapur district, and Hindu and Jain ones at Ujn in the Nunar district, Indore State—all these constitute by no means a negligible record of progress. We are glad to note that a work on Pallava Architecture is under preparation by Mr. Longhurst, Superintendent of the Madras Circle, and we have no doubt it will help to reconstruct entirely the history of Pallava art, to which Professor Dubreuil has devoted so much attention of late. The year was remarkable also for a considerable output of Epigraphical work. Besides the usual output of annual reports, guides on Taxila and on Sanchi were published by Sir John Marshall, one on Bijapur by Mr. Henry

Cousins, and one on Jai Singh's Observatories by Mr. G. R. Kaye during the year. Seven parts of *Epigraphia Indica* were also issued. We close as we began with our congratulations and thanks to Sir John Marshall and his co-workers on their extremely valuable work. A.V.R.

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1. South Indian Shrines* 2. South Indian Festivities †

BY P. V. JAGADISA AYYAR, ESQ.

THESE two profusely illustrated volumes contain an exhaustive collection of the traditions connected with South Indian Shrines and Festivities, in a short compass. As attempts to preserve for students of Indian culture, an account of popular traditions that are speedily being lost sight of, they are eminently successful, and we compliment the author on his patience, industry, and wonderful variety. The books will, we have no doubt, be of great use to our European friends and will enable them to understand the man-in-the-street's view of the feasts, fasts and festivities that occupy such a considerable part of an orthodox Hindu's life, and are responsible for the numerous holidays that an Indian office is heir to. The author hasindulged also in various digressions, in order to bring into his work, information relating to Hindu astronomy, astrology, educational system, theology, town planning and similar topics. We cannot help feeling however that the author's attempts to interpret these traditions have not been successful, and that his Introductions are disappointing. The books themselves supply a very real want, and the illustrations which are not only numerous but also good make the volumes even more welcome. A.V.R.

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* Madras Times Printing and Publishing Coy., 1920. Price Rs. 5-0-0.

† Higginbothams, Ltd., Madras. 1921. Price Rs. 7-8-0.

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The
Quarterly Journal
of the
Mythic Society

Vol. XII] JULY 1922 [No. 4

THE STORY OF JIVANDHARA.

Translated from the Uttarapurāṇam.

By Prof. Dr. E. Hultzsch, Ph.D.

Both Buddhists and Jainas have utilized and adapted the great floating mass of ancient Hindu legends for the purposes of religious propaganda. The most extensive store-house of Buddhist stories is the Jātaka book, which has been made generally accessible by Professor Cowell and his collaborateurs.* Of similar works by Jaina authors I will mention here only those few which are available in English translations: Kathākōśa, by C. H. Tawney (London, 1895); Mērutuṅga's Prabandhachintāmaṇi, by the same (Calcutta, 1901); Hindu Tales, by J. J. Meyer (London, 1909); and the analysis of Hēmachandra's Pariśishṭaparva in Professor Jacobi's introduction to his edition of this work (Calcutta, 1891).

To Mr. T. S. Kuppusvami Sastri, an accomplished and indefatigable Sanskrit scholar, we owe critical editions of four different versions of one of the favourite legends of the Digambara Jainas: the story of Jīvandhara or Jīvaka, viz.

(1) Jīvandharacharitram by Guṇabhadrāchārya, Tanjore, 1907.

(2) Jīvandharachampū by Harichandra, Tanjore, 1905.

(3) Kshatrachūḍāmaṇi by Vādībhasiṁha, Tanjore, 1903.

(4) Gadyachintāmaṇi by the same, Madras, 1902.

A Tamil poetical version of the same story was published by the celebrated Tamil Pandit, Mahāmahōpādhyāya Saminathaiyar:

* *The Jataka, translated*, 6 Vols., and Index, Cambridge, 1895-1913.

[We regret that owing to paucity of diacritic marks in italics, Roman letters have been used in this article for transliteration of Sanskrit words.—Ed., J. M. S.]

(5) Jīvakachintāmaṇi by Tiruttakkadēvar, with the commentary of Nachchi-*nārkkiniyar, Madras, 1887.

The Pandit mentions also (otherwise unknown) dramatical version of the same story (Jīvandhara-nāṭakam by Harichandra) and another version of it in the bilingual Śrīpurāṇam.[1]

This last work is, as Mr. Kuppusvami Sastri remarks,[2] admittedly of later date. Nos. (2) to (5) profess to be based on a Purāṇam, which can be no other but the Uttarapurāṇam by Guṇabhadra, of which No. (1) forms a portion.

The Uttarapurāṇam is a continuation of the Ādipurāṇam of Guṇabhadra's preceptor Jinasēnāchārya. He was the Parama-guru or chief preceptor of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Amōghavarsha I,[3] and composed also the curious poem Pārśvābhyudaya, in which the whole of Kālidāsa's Mēghadūta is inserted.[4] Jinasēna's pupil Guṇabhadra took up the work which had been left unfinished by his teacher, and his Uttarapurāṇam was consecrated by his pupil Lōkasēna in the reign of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king (Kṛishṇa II) Akālavarsha on a specified day of Śaka 820. The corresponding Christian date is the 23rd June, A. D. 897.[5] Another pupil of Guṇabhadra was Maṇḍalapurusha, who wrote the Tamil lexicon சூளாமணி-நிகண்டு in the time of [illegible], *i.e.* of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa II (Akālavarsha.)[6]

The precise time of Harichandra, the author of No. (2), the Jīvandharachampū is unknown. As his work is based on the Uttarapurāṇam, he is certainly distinct from that namesake of his whose prose composition is praised in Bāṇa's Harsha-charitram. He may have been identical with the author of the poem Dharmaśarmābhyudayam (Kāvyamālā, No. 8). Both styled themselves 'Mahākavi Harichandra' and were Digambaras, and on pp. 147-150 of his edition of the champū, Mr. Kuppusvami Sastri notes some passages of the kāvyam which remind us strongly of the champū.

The author of No. (3), Kshatrachūḍāmaṇi, and No. (4), Gadyachintāmaṇi, was Oḍayadēva Vādibhasiṁha, pupil of Pushpasēna. The title Vādībhasiṁha, *i.e.* 'the lion to the elephants, (*viz.*) disputants,' is known to have been borne by several different Jaina preceptors[7]. In a letter of 31st March 1914, Mr. Kuppusvami Sastri drew my attention to the fact that Śrutasāgara's commentary on Sōmadēvasūri's Yaśastilakachampū[8] quotes a verse stating that Vādibhasiṁha and Vādirāja were pupils of Sōmadēvasūri, and to a verse of Vādirāja which occurs

* **Press note:—As the letter n with two dots below it, standing for the Tamil ஞ, has not been secured, common n is used in all cases where such should occur.**

1 See *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXXVI, page 285.

2 *Ibid.*, page 287.

3 K. B. Pathak, J. Bo. Br. R. A. S., Vol. XVIII, page 224; Fleet's *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, page 407.

4 *Cf.* the preface of my edition of the *Mēghadūta*, page vii.

5 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, page 217; Sir R. Bhandarkar's Report for 1883-84, pages 120, 430; Fleet's *Dynasties*, page 411, n. 2.

6 Preface to *Kshatrachūḍāmani*, page 5; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVI, page 288.

7 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, p. 213, text line 18; *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III, pp. 186, 205; ZDMG (*i.e.* Journal of he German Oriental Society), Vol. 68, p. 608.

8 Kāvyamālā, No. 70, part I, p. 265.

actually in his Yaśōdharacharitam.[1] Sōmadēva composed his Yaśastilaka-champū in Śaka 881, Siddhārtha[2] =A. D. 959. This settles the time of his pupil Vādirāja, the author of the Yaśōdharacharitam. His other pupil, Vādībhasiṁha, is perhaps identical with Oḍayadēva Vādībhasiṁha, the author of the Kshatrachūdāmaṇi and Gadyachintāmaṇi. Mr. Kuppusvami Sastri tells us that both Sōmadēva's Yaśastilakachampū and Vādirāja's Yaśōdharacharitam are based on Guṇabhadra's Uttarapurāṇam.[3] I have shown elsewhere that Vādirāja was the Guru of the Western Chālukya king Jayasiṁha II Jagadēkamalla.[4] Before composing the Yaśōdharacharitam, he wrote a Pārśvanāthacharitam in Śaka 947, Krōdhana[5] =A.D. 1025. I avail myself of this opportunity to mention a curious coincidence to which I have alluded already in the ZDMG., Vol. 68, p. 698, n. 4. The Karhād copper-plates of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III were issued in Śaka 880, while his army was encamped at Mēlpāṭī, *i.e.* Mēlpāḍi (six miles north of Tiruvallam Railway station) in the old Chittūr Tāluk of the North Arcot District.[6] This statement has to be compared with the colophon of the Yaśastilakachampū, the text of which is corrupt, but which implies that in Śaka 881, Kṛishṇa III, having subdued the Pāṇḍya, Siṁhala, Chōḷa, and Chēra kings,[7] was in possession of Mēlpāṭī,[8] *i.e.* Mēlpāḍi.

The lower limit of No. (5), the great Tamil poem Jīvaka-chintāmaṇi by Tiruttakkadēvar (=Śrīdakshadēva in Sanskrit), can be ascertained from a fact which was brought to notice by the late Professor M. Seshagiri Sastri,[9] but overlooked by subsequent writers on this subject. The commentator of Buddhamitra's grammar Vīrasōḻiyam, Perundēvanār, who was a pupil of Buddhamitra himself, refers to the Nariviruttam of Tiruttakkadēvar.[10] Buddhamitra was a contemporary of the Chōḷa king Vīrarājēndra I[11] who ascended the throne in A.D. 1062-63.[12] Consequently Tiruttakkadēvar must have lived before the second half of the eleventh century. He seems to have preceded Vādībhasiṁha. For, as suggested by the late Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao,[13] the title of one of Vādībhasiṁha's two works:

1 Tanjore, 1912, p. 34, verse 49.

2 See Kāvyamālā, No. 70, part II, p. 419.

3 See the last page of the Sanskrit preface of the *Yaśōdharacharitam*.

4 ZDMG., Vol. 68, p. 698.

5 See Mr. Kuppusvami Sastri's preface to the *Yaśōdharacharitam*.

6 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, pp. 281, 290.

7 The printed text misreads these names. The two editors could have found the correct reading in Peterson's Second Report, p. 155.

8 The printed text has *Mīlyaṭī*, and Peterson has *Mālyaṭī*, which he wanted to change to *Malayāḍri*.

9 Report for 1896-97 (Madras, 1898), p. 39.

10 *Cf. Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXV, p. 118, note by Venkayya. According to Dr. Barnett (Catalogue of Tamil Books in the British Museum, p. 381), it is a fable in 51 stanzas and has been printed in ஒளவைதுரைசாமி at Madura.

11 *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, p. 197.

12 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 9.

13 Preface to the *Yaśōdharacharitam*, p. 4.

Gadyachintāmaṇi, *i.e.* 'the prose Chintāmaṇi,' presupposes the existence of a poetical Chintāmaṇi, which can be no other but the Jīvakachintāmaṇi.

I shall here confine myself to a translation of the earliest redaction of the story of Jīvaṇdhara, *viz.* the one furnished by Guṇabhadra in his Uttarapurāṇam, leaving a detailed examination of the later versions to future researches. The translation is as literal as possible; words to be supplied are enclosed in round brackets. The style of the original is often brief and obscure, and the author has the habit of finishing sentences in the middle of a verse line instead of letting them run to the end of it in the customary manner. For the convenience of readers, I have prefixed headings to the single chapters of the story.

Jivandhara's Birth and Youth.

(Verse 1.) Once, while the famous Mahārāja Śrēṇika[1] was joyfully wandering about in the four splendid woods outside the perfumed chamber[2], he perceived the great ascetic Jīvandhara, who was standing under a Piṇḍī-tree, absorbed in meditation. As (the king's) fancy was attracted by his figure, etc., he went up to the chief disciple Sudharma[3], full of curiosity, worshipped him devoutly[4], saluted him, assigned to him a seat that was suitable to his rank, and asked him respectfully, with outstretched hands: 'Is this venerable one a great ascetic who has just been freed of all (consequences of former) deeds, or who is he?'

(V. 5.) The other, who possessed four kinds of knowledge[5], spoke as follows: for the conduct of good men never tires the mind either of the teller or of the hearer.

(V. 6.) Listen, O Śrēṇika! On the continent adorned by the Jambū-tree[6], here[7], in the country of Hēmāṅgada, there reigned[8], king Satyandhara, the ruler of Rājapuram, delighting all, like the moon. He had a great queen (named) Vijayā, who seemed to be a second goddess of victory; a minister named Kāshṭhāṅgāraka, who was skilled in all (public) affairs; and a domestic priest (named) Rudradatta, who warded off (all) plagues (decreed) by fate.

(V. 9.) Once, while queen Vijayā was slumbering peacefully in her inner apartment, she had, in the last watch of the night, with clear consciousness, the two following dreams: The king gave her a diadem adorned with eight golden bells; and the root of an Aśōka-tree, under which she was standing, was cut off with an axe by somebody, but a young tree grew up. In order to learn the meaning of these two

1 Śrēṇika or Bimbisāra, who resided at Rājagṛiha in Magadha, was a contemporary of the Jaina prophet Mahāvīra.

2 In Buddhist literature *gandhakuṭī* is the designation of any private chamber devoted to Buddha's use.

3 *Cf.* Bhadrabāhu's *Kalpasūtram*, II, 1—3.

4 The derivative *bhāktika* (*bhaktimat*) occurs again in verses 330 and 400.

5 For the five kinds of knowledge, three of which are supernatural, see Umāsvāti's *Tattvārthādhigamasūtram*, I, 9.

6 *i.e.* in Jambūdvīpa.

7 *Viz.* in India. *Cf.* verse 119.

8 Read perhaps राजद् for राजन्.

(dreams), she went up to the king, regarded him respectfully, and questioned him. The king told her what was both pleasant and unpleasant (by saying): 'Immediately after my decease you will obtain eight-fold gain,* and at the end a son, who will rule the earth.'

(V. 13.) When the king saw that, on hearing (his speech), the queen revealed her mind by (experiencing) sorrow and joy, he consoled her by kind words. While time was thus passing pleasantly to both, some (being) arrived from the world of the gods and took his abode joyfully in the queen's womb, just as a beautiful swan in a pleasant lake (covered) with autumnal lotus-flowers.

(V. 16.) Once a rich great merchant named Gandhōtkaṭa, who lived in that town, perceived in the park Manōhara-vana, the great ascetic Śilagupta, who possessed three kinds of knowledge,† bowed to him modestly, and asked him eagerly: 'Venerable one! In consequence of bad deeds (in a former existence), all my sons have been short-lived. Shall I have any long-lived sons hereafter?'

(V. 19.) The great ascetic replied mercifully: 'Surely you will obtain very long-lived ones. Listen attentively to the following token of this (fact), great merchant! When you enter the forest in order to expose a son whom you will obtain, (but) who will die at once, you will obtain there a virtuous son. Having ruled the whole earth, he, being satiated with sensual pleasures, will at the end destroy (the consequences of his former) deeds and attain the bliss of salvation'.

(V. 22.) Having heard his speech, a Yakshī standing in his neighbourhood, impelled by the (former) good deeds of the future prince, went to the royal palace in order to assist the mother personally at his birth, and entered an aeroplane.‡ If one has performed good deeds in a former birth,§ deities generally wish to be near.

(V. 25.) Once, when the month of Madhu (March—April), which brings delight to all beings, had arrived, the confidential domestic priest‖ entered the king's palace early in the morning. Finding the queen sitting without ornaments, he asked respectfully: 'Where is the king?'

(V. 27.) She replied: 'The king is sleeping and cannot be seen at all.' Considering her words a bad omen, he turned back.

(V. 28.) When, at the time of sunrise, he reached the house of the minister Kāshṭhāṅgāraka and saw him there, the knave told him in secret: 'The kingdom will belong to you. You must kill the king!'

(V. 29.) Hearing his speech, (the other) covered his ears in dread (and said): 'This king has entrusted me, the (former) workman,¶ with the dignity of minister.

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* This refers to Jivandhara's eight wives.

† *Cf.* verse 5, note.

‡ Literally: 'a machine (in the shape) of Garuḍa.' A similar machine is mentioned by the Jaina monk Pūrṇabhadra in his recension of the *Pañchatantram*, which was finished in A. D. 1199; see Professor Hertel's edition in the Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. XI, book I, tale 8—'The weaver as Vishṇu'.

§ Read perhaps मत्फलं for मफलं.

‖ See above, verse 8.

¶ *Cf.* below, verse 477 f.

How should I do him wrong, like an ingrate? Rudradatta! Although you are clever, this which you foresee is very bad policy.'

(V. 32.) Hearing this, the domestic priest said: 'His future son would take your life. Therefore prevent this!', and went away quickly.

(V. 33.) In consequence of this bad deed, Rudradatta was attacked by disease on the third day, lost his life, and started on a very long and painful migration through the hells.

(V. 34.) The wicked minister Kāshṭhāṅgāraka, who wished to kill the king, because on the strength of Rudradatta's prophecy he feared his own death, advanced in the direction of the king's palace, together with two thousand princes who had been bribed by presents and were well provided with soldiers, and together with armed elephants and horses.

(V. 36.) Learning this, the king carefully sent away the queen sitting on the aeroplane, met the minister angrily, together with princes devoted to himself, who had been won over by a former minister, and who, at the sight of him, deserted the minister (Kāshṭhāṅgāraka); defeated the latter at once in battle; and forced him to fly from fear.

(V. 39.) When Kālāṅgāraka, the son (of Kāshṭhāṅgāraka), heard that the latter had been defeated in battle, he, full of anger, arrived at once with a numerous armed force.

(V. 40.) United with him again, the wicked Kāshṭhāṅgāraka slew the king in battle, and seized that kingdom.

(V. 41.) The vilest of ministers then obtained the kingdom, which gave him no happiness, just as poisoned food, or an ungrateful friend, or a religion permitting the slaughter of living beings (fails to do so).

(V. 42.) Then, having mounted the aeroplane,* queen Vijayā, who was, protected by the Yakshī, weeping, her body being scorched by the fire of sorrow reached a cemetery that was filled on all sides with thieves who were hanging down head foremost, (or) who were covering the stakes (on which they were fixed) with blood oozing in streams from wounds and mouths, and whose vital airs were fluttering owing to the pain produced by being split by the stakes,—and with witches who were dragging from the fire (of the funeral pile), cutting to pieces with sharp knives, and devouring a half-burnt corpse with manifold shrieks.

(V. 46.) Protected by the Yakshī, she gave birth there at night without pains to a lovely son, just as heaven (does) to the moon.

(V. 47.) She did not celebrate even a small festival (in honour) of the birth of a son, but experienced grief increased by adverse fate.

(V. 48.) The Yakshī at once placed on all sides lamps (consisting) of jewels.† When she saw her filled with sorrow, like a creeper consumed by a jungle-fire, (she said): 'Every rank is unstable. The beauty of youth is transient. Union

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* See above, verses 24 and 37.

† This is done in order to protect the new-born child from demons; *cf* Tawney's translation of the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, Vol. I, p. 305, note ‡.

with relatives is perishable. Life flickers like a lamp. This body consists of nothing but impurity and must be abandoned by the wise in this world. The kingdom, (though) to be worshipped by all men, resembles (in brevity) a flash of lightning.* In all objects all feel desire only for their (momentary) conditions.† These are naturally transitory. Therefore desire ends in pain. Although an object exists, it may not excite our desire. If it exists and is desired by us, it may not belong to us. If it exists, belongs to us, and excites our desire, the same end (threatens) either these three (conditions) or our existence. He whose mind has entered the state of immutability and views the universe, does not perceive anything stationary anywhere or at any time. If one feels desire for objects existing, or for future ones, this may be (excused). (But) what intelligent man feels desire in vain for what is past?‡ If you thus consider the true state of the world, my dear Vijayā, do not suffer grief, nor feel desire for bygones in vain. This illustrious, wise son will give you pleasure by crushing the bad conduct of enemies until (he attains) salvation. Take a bath! Collect your thoughts! Take proper nourishment! What avails this useless grief, which only causes the waste of the body? For even in a fresh birth you will not recover your husband by mourning. The migrations of beings follow diverse paths owing to the diversity of deeds'.

(V. 59.) By such reasonable speeches (the Yakshī) made her free from sorrow and remained at her side in person: such is the friendship of the good.

(V. 60.) When Gandhōtkaṭa himself came there and exposed the dead body of his own infant§, he heard the fine, deep voice|| of the little boy.

(V. 61.) Calling out: jīva, jīva (*i.e.* 'live! live!') as if it were (the boy's) future name Jīvandhara, he found him, pleased that the prophecy of the ascetic had come true, stretched out both hands lovingly, and lifted the boy up.

(V. 62.) When the queen heard his voice and recognised Gandhōtkaṭa¶, she made herself known to him and handed (the boy) over to him, saying: 'Good sir, bring up (the apple of) my eye unknown to others!'

(V. 64.) He received (the child), saying: 'I shall do this', went home in haste, and handed it to his wife Nanda without telling her anything about its origin, saying, as if he were angry: 'You, forgetful one, have given this living infant into my hand without any examination and consideration, in order to expose it. This (boy) is full of life and virtues. Take him!'

(V. 67.) With greedy eyes she joyfully received with both hands the boy who surpassed the morning-sun in splendour.

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* For विद्युद्द्योत read विद्युदुद्द्योत.

† For *paryāya*, 'condition', see *Tattvārthādhigama*, V. 37.

‡ I owe the correct translation of verses 52--54 to the kindness of Professor Jacobi.

§ See above, verse 20 f.

|| The *Gadyachintāmaṇi*, page 30, line 18, shows that sneezing is meant. For the custom of saying jīva, 'God bless you!' on hearing another sneezing, *cf. Kathāsaritsāgara*, chapter 28, verses 130 and 143.

¶ As in verses 69, 77, 380, the word *āhvaya* is here redundant at the end of a compound. *Cf.* in Tamil, ஸன்பயன் of என்கிறவன் after proper names.

(V. 68.) The great merchant performed on his behalf the (usual) auspicious ceremonies and bestowed on him one day, at the end of the '(first) feeding with rice,' the name Jīvandhara.

(V. 69.) By means of the aeroplane Vijayā went thence to a great settlement of ascetics which lay in the middle of the Daṇḍaka forest, and resided there quite in secret.

(V. 70.) The Yakshī visited the distressed (queen). Wishing to dispel her grief, she pleased her daily by illustrating the course of the world and the path of the (Jina) doctrine by interesting stories suitable to her condition.

(V. 72.) Here (in Rājapuram) two beautiful younger (wives) of king Satyandhara : Bhamirati and Anaṅgapatākā, bore two sons Madhura and Bakula, who (later on) recognised the truth of the right doctrine* and accepted the commandments (incumbent on) lay-worshippers (*śrāvaka*), and these two also grew up under the care of Gandhōtkaṭa.

(V. 74.) In the same place (the following persons) became lay-worshippers : the king's general, named Vijayamati, the domestic priest Sāgara, the chief merchant Dhanapāla, and fourthly the minister Matisāgara. Their wives were, respectively, Jayavatī, Śrīmattā, Śridattā, and fourthly Anupamā, and their respective sons Dēvasēna, Buddhishēṇa, Varadatta, and Madhumukha.

(V. 77.) These six sons, Madhura, etc., grew up together with prince Jīvandhara, engaged in boys' games. (These seven boys were as dear to Gandhōtkaṭa) as his own life, and inseparable everywhere by night and day from this high-minded one, just as the (seven) categories, soul, etc.,† from the world. Then Nandā also bore (to Gandhōtkaṭa) in due course a son, Nandāḍhya.

(V. 80.) Once some one who had the appearance of an ascetic, perceived in the park of the city the prince, who was engaged in the usual‡ boys' games, ball, etc., and asked him : 'Tell me how far from here the town is.'

(V. 81.) Jīvandhara replied laughing : 'Although you are old, you are ignorant. Even a boy cannot err in this§. For who does not infer the proximity of a town from observing boys playing in the outer park of a great town, as that of the substance 'fire' from observing smoke?'‖

(V. 83.) When (the ascetic) saw, heard, and examined his gestures, complexion, voice, etc. (he thought) : 'This is no ordinary boy. From his characteristics royal descent may be inferred.' Wishing to find out his family by some means, he asked him : 'Give me to eat!'

(V. 86.) The prince promised this, took him to his father, and said : 'With your permission, I have (promised) to give him to eat.'

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* *I.e.* of the Jaina religion.

† See *Tattvārthādhigama*, I, 4.

‡ उच्छ seems to be used for उचित.

§ For बालोऽप्यत्र read बालोऽप्यत्र

‖ The young prince alludes to the typical instance of an inference पर्वतो वह्निमान् धूमवत्त्वात्.

(V. 87.) When his father * heard this, (he thought) with joy : 'I must praise this well-educated son.' He embraced him repeatedly and said :'My son, after the bath he will dine well with me. You may eat without anxiety.'

(V. 89.) (The prince) sat down with his companions and commenced to eat. Then he cried and bothered his mother after the fashion of small children :'This is all hot. How can I eat it ?'

(V. 90.) When (the guest) in the garb of an ascetic saw him crying, he said to the young prince : 'My dear, this does not become you. Although quite young in years, you are intelligent and surpass all in courage and other virtues. For what reason do you cry ?'

(V. 92.) (The boy) replied : 'Listen, venerable one ! You do not know the following advantages of this crying : The collected phlegm flows out, the eyes get clear, and the food cools down. Why do you forbid this ?'

(V. 94.) When his mother heard this, she was pleased and gave him and his companions a proper amount to eat.

(V. 95.) After Gandhōtkaṭa had dined and seated himself comfortably, (the guest) in the garb of an ascetic, who had dined with him, spoke thus : 'I have conceived an affection for this boy in consideration of his cleverness and shall purify his mind in the great ocean of sciences.'

(V. 97.) When the great merchant heard his speech, he said : 'I am the chief of lay-worshippers and do not bow to any strange ascetic for any reason. You will probably feel hurt from pride if I do not do this.'

(V. 98.) When (the other) heard this, he told the truth about himself : 'I am the king of Siṁhapuram, Ariyavarma by name. After I had heard the (Jaina) doctrine from the ascetic Vīranandin, my faith was purified. I made over my kingdom to Dhṛitishēṇa and vowed self-control. Unable to bear the great heat produced by the hot fire in the stomach, and of right faith, I assumed this garb (and became) your brother in the (Jaina) doctrine.'

(V. 101.) Having duly considered his speech, the great merchant made over to him his son with his companions. What will the wise not entrust to a worthy person, just as seed (is entrusted) to the field ?

(V. 103.) He whose faith was right, accepted this great gift and conducted (the boys) in quite a short time to the end of all sciences.

(V. 104.) The prince who had attained the mastery of sciences, shone like the sun at the border of a cloud, † or like an elephant who has reached the first youth. After some time his preceptor, who exercised self-control, attained salvation.

Godavari.

(V. 105.) About this time a chief of forest-dwellers, Kālakūṭa by name,—a cow-killer and destroyer of the pious, whose colour resembled that of a grove of

* Read तंत्पिता.

† Read रविर्वाम्भोदान्ते [Or, 'at the end of the cloudy (season)'].

(dark) Tamāl-trees, and who appeared to be darkness itself that had assumed human shape out of fear of the rays of the sun,—approached the cow-pen, in order to seize the herd of cows, accompanied by an evil-looking, merciless army,[1] who held bows and arrows in their hands, inspired terror by the loud sound of horns, and could not be resisted by anybody in their attack, just as bitter, powerful drugs.

(V. 109.) When king Kāshṭhāṅgāraka heard this rumour, he caused to be announced in public that he would give the virtuous virgin Gōdāvarī, daughter of Gōpēndra and Gopaśrī, to him who should recover the cows.

(V. 110.) When Jivandhara heard this, he went near the robbers, accompanied by Kālāṅgāraka and surrounded by his own companions, and fought a long time, placing a long line of sharp arrows on his bent bow,[2] quickly dispatching an uninterrupted series (of them) with great dexterity, assuming all the positions taught in archery, dodging the arrow-shots of the enemies, changing his place quickly, shattering the arrow-showers of the enemies, and stopping the missiles (directed) at cowards.

(V. 114.) After he had defeated the robbers, just as policy (defeats) wicked plans, he entered the town that was adorned with fluttering banners,—kissed by the goddess of victory and filling all regions thoroughly with his fame, which surpassed (by its splendour) the moon, the shoulders *i.e.* (wings ?) of the swan, and the jasmine flower.

(V. 116.) Attracted by the perfume of his fame, the eyes of people, just as bees, rested on the body of the prince, (which was as tall as) a tree[3] and covered with the flowers of his valour, etc.

(V. 117.) At the bidding of the prince, the sons of the Vaiśyas unanimously reported to the king that he (*viz.* Nandāḍhya) had recovered the cows in fighting, and induced him to give the previously mentioned virgin Gōdāvarī in marriage to Nandāḍhya. Wonderful are the results of (brave) deeds!

Gandharvadatta.

(V. 119.) Here in Bhārata (*i.e.*, India), on the southern side of the mountain of the Khēcharas,[4] gleamed the city of Gaganavallabha,[5] as though Fortune (had alighted there) from heaven.

(V. 120.) The ruler of this town, the Khēchara lord Garuḍavēga, had been expelled by his heirs and deprived of his dignity. He built in Ratnadvīpa,[6] on a mountain named Manujōdaya, another town, named Ramaṇīya, and settled in this town. His wife was (named) Dhāriṇī.

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1 For बालमादाय read बलमादाय.

2 Read कोदण्डे.

3 दहभूज is an excellent conjecture of Mr. Kuppusvami Sastri for दे.

4 *Khēchara* is a synonym of *Vidyādhara* ; *cf.* verse 159 f.

5 *Cf.* Hēmachandra's *Pariśishṭaparva*, II, 644, and *Kathākōśa*, translated by Tawney, p. 38.

6 For नृत्तद्वीपे read रत्नद्वीपे; see verse 139.

(V. 122.) One day their daughter Gandharvadattā, whose body was emaciated by fasting, having worshipped the Jina lords, brought a garland which was left over (from the offerings), in order to give it to (her father). Perceiving that she had reached the age of youth, the lord of the Khēcharas asked his minister Matisāgara to whom she ought to be married.

(V. 124.) (The minister) whose wisdom was boundless, told him the following prophecy, which he had formerly heard from a sage:

(V. 125.) 'Once I went to the Mandara (mountain), in order to worship the Jina lords. I circumambulated devoutly, and praised according to rule, the temple of Jina in the Nandana wood on the eastern side (of that mountain), bowed to the wandering ascetic Vipulamati, who was staying there, listened to the (Jaina) doctrine (expounded by him), and asked him: 'O you who are to be worshipped by the world! In whose exclusive possession will Gandharvadattā, the virtuous daughter of my lord, remain?'

(V. 128.) 'He who possessed the *avadhi*-knowledge,[1] replied as follows: 'On this continent,[2] in Bhārata (*i.e.*, India), in the lovely country of Hēmāṅgada, at Rājapuram, (ruled) king Satyandhara, who was distinguished by truthfulness. His great queen (is named) Vijayā. These two have an illustrious, prudent son. (Gandharvadattā) will become his wife by the election of a husband (by means of) the lute.'[3]

(V. 130.) Hearing the minister's speech, the lord of the Khagas[4] was somewhat perturbed and again asked the minister Matisāgara: 'How can we enter into connection with dwellers on earth?'

(V. 132.) (The minister) related clearly the following other (story), which he had learnt from the ascetic: '(There was) in the same Rājapuram a great merchant named Vṛishabhadatta. His wife (was named) Padmāvatī. These two had a son, Jinadatta. Once, during the worship of the omniscient ones,[5] the latter entered the park Prītivardhana in that town, in order to devoutly worship the Jina Sāgarasēna, and you (also came there) together with his father (Vṛishabhadatta). When you saw him (*viz.*, Jinadatta) there, you made friends with him. Except the difference of bodies, there was no other difference between you both. While some days were thus passing, the chief of merchants appointed Jinadatta in his place, attained enlightenment, and was initiated in the presence of the ascetic Guṇapālā. The pious[6] Padmāvatī also went up to (the nun) Kshāntī, vowed self-control, and (thus) acted according to her noble birth. The wealthy Jinadatta occupied the place

1 According to the *Tattvārthādhigama*, I, 9, *avadhi*, the third of the five kinds of knowledge is "the transcendant knowledge of material things"; see Professor Jacobi, ZDMG, Vol. 60, p. 294.

2 *i.e.*, in Jambūdvīpa; *cf.* above, verse 6.

3 See below, and *cf. Kathākōśa*, p. 65 f.

4 *Khaga* is a synonym of *Khēchara*.

5 For केवलज्ञानं in verse 134 I propose reading केवलज्ञानिनं.

6 The word *suvratā* occurs twice in the same sentence, evidently owing to a mistake.

of his father and enjoyed pleasures to his heart's content with Manōramā and other wives. He will, of his own accord, reach Ratnadvīpa on business. By him our desire will be fulfilled.'

(V. 140.) This (Jinadatta) came to (the king) in a few days. The lord of the Khagas received the guest with pleasure and thus addressed him respectfully: 'Friend, arrange for my daughter Gandharvadattā the election of a husband in your city!'

(V. 142.) Jinadatta took her along with the Khagas to Rājapuram, caused the election of a husband to be proclaimed in public, and erected in the park Manōhara a handsome great hall for the election of a husband.

(V. 144.) After the kings of the earth, who were experienced in arts and sciences, had assembled along with their princes, he performed the worship of the Jinas.

(V. 145.) Then Gandharvadattā entered the hall (erected) for the election of a husband, carrying her lute of auspicious marks, called Sughōshā, and stood playing a musical piece accompanied by singing, which was correct in notes, modes,[1] etc., and tuned to the (Rāga) Śuddhadēśaja,[2] (thereby) captivating (the hearts of) those kings.

(V. 147.) Desirous of lowering the pride produced by her lute-playing, Jīvandhara entered the hall (erected) for the election of a husband; requested impartial, clever judges of lute-playing, who were approved by both (parties), to test merits and defects; and asked those who had been appointed for it to give him a faultless lute.

(V. 149.) They brought and gave him three or four lutes. As pieces of hair[3] of the head or body and other defects were found on these, he rejected them all and asked the virgin: 'If you are free from envy, give me your lute'.

(V. 151.) She gave him respectfully the lute resting in her hand. The prince took it and played a musical piece accompanied by singing, which was high and low, attractive and sweet, conformed to the rules of art, and (would have) moved even the hearts of deer,[4] while (the audience) exclaimed 'bravo' and offered him flowers.

(V. 154.) Being hit in the heart by (the god of love) who carries five arrows, Gandharvadattā adorned him with the garland (of victory). What does not happen if fortune is favourable?

(V. 155.) Some (of the suitors) lost their splendour, like lamps in daytime; the faces of others beamed like lamps at night.

(V. 156.) Pleased that she had won the prince by means of (her lute) Sughōshā,

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1 'The two musical modes *shaḍja* and *madhyama-grāma* are meant.'—R. Simon.

2 To the kindness of Professor R. Simon I am indebted for the following remarks: 'The *śuddha-rāgas* are explained by Matanga in Kallinatha's commentary on Śārṅgadēva, II, 2, 27, and in the *Saṅgītasarvārthasāraswangraha*, 15. For *dēśīja* (also called *dēśīya*, *dēśīlakṣya*, *dēśakāra*, *dēśakṛiti*, *dēśikārī*, *dēśakriyā*); *cf.* Ahōbala, 340, 372; *Saṅgītanārāyaṇa*, I, 139, 150, 280 f., 282; Sōmanātha, III, 57, IV, 27; Dāmōdara, II, 10, 24; *Saṅgītasarvārthasārasangraha*, 17; *Purūṣasarvaswam*, II, fol. 91; Śārṅgadēva, II, 2, 11, II, 1, 17, 45, III, 136, VI, 357 f., 712-714. The term originally means a popular local piece of music.'

3 *Cf. Kathāsaritsāgara*, CVI, verse 25 f.

4 *Cf. e.g.*, Bāgha, VI, 49, and Professor Hertel's German translation of Hēmachandra's *Pariśishṭaparva*, p. 144, n. 1.

Gandharvadattā thus addressed her lute in her heart: 'As though you were my go-between, you are dear to the family, sounding (or speaking) well, sweet, touching the hearts, the means of the union with the prince, and clever.'

(V. 158.) Instigated by his wicked (associates), Kāshṭhāṅgāraka's son (Kālāṅgāraka)[1] then made an attempt to abduct Gandharvadattā.

(V. 159.) When the prince learned this, he mounted a rutting elephant named Jayagiri, and, accompanied by the Vidyādharas,[2] who were preceded by the strongest, angrily advanced against the enemy's army.

(V. 160.) Then Gandharvadattā's father, the Vidyādhara king Garuḍavēga, who was skilled in diplomacy, became the mediator between both (parties) and pacified the enemy's army.

(V. 162.) When he had brought about the union of the two (lovers) in wedlock, he felt satisfied. A father has no other (more important) duty than the marriage of his daughter.[3]

(V. 163.) The happiness of those two, whose delight was increased by mutual inclination, reached the highest pitch, as it arose from the union of equals.

Suramanjari.

(V. 164.) Once in the month of Madhu,[4] which is the means of the budding of love, all the citizens along with the king went to take their pleasure in the park Suramalaya, in order to disport themselves in the wood,[5] and displayed their wealth (of ornaments) on account of the great festival.

(V. 166.) In that town the chief of merchants had the name Vaiśravaṇadatta. From (his wife) Chūtamañjari he had a daughter, Suramañjari. The latter had a servant, Śyāmalatā, who, in order to proclaim the cleverness of her mistress, went about among the people, declaring here and there in public: 'This is a fragrant powder called Chandrōdaya. No other (powder) has a sweeter smell than this.'

(V. 169.) The Vaiśya Kumāradatta had from (his wife) Vimalā a spotless daughter, Guṇamālā. Her eloquent, fair-browed servant Vidyullatā, filled with pride, wandered about praising repeatedly her own mistress' virtues in the society of experts: 'This is the best fragrant powder, called Sūryōdaya, which is covered with bees. Its like is not to be found even in heaven.'

(V. 172.) While such a dispute was continuing between those two (girls), whose minds were filled with growing jealousy, the adepts of that science were unable to decide it.

(V. 173.) Then the young lord Jivandhara himself examined the matter carefully (and said): 'The best of these two (powders) is the Chandrōdaya. If (you ask) for a proof of this, I shall furnish it distinctly.

(V. 174.) He took both (powders) in his two hands and quickly scattered them about. (Attracted) by the excellence of its perfume, a swarm of bees covered

1 See above, verse 39.

2 See above, note on verse 119.

3 *Cf.* the end of the fourth act of *Śakuntalā*.

4 *Cf.* above, verse 25.

5 This statement is tautological.

the Chandrōdaya. When the experts who were present there, saw this, all of them praised only (the Chandrōdaya).

(V. 176.) Henceforth those two girls gave up the scientific contest between each other and made peace.

(V. 177.) While the citizens were enjoying themselves in this wood to their hearts' content, some naughty boys perceived a dog and mischievously teased it.

(V. 178.) It ran away full of fear, jumped into a tank, and was about to lose its life there.

(V. 179.) Prince Jīvandhara had it pulled out by his servants and filled its ears with words of veneration.

(V. 180.) Accepting the veneration, (the dog) remembered its former existence and became a Yaksha named Sudarśana on the mountain Chandrōdaya.

(V. 181.) (The Yaksha) returned to the prince, excited the wonder of all by praising him aloud: 'By your favour I have attained such power,' and gratefully honoured him with heavenly ornaments.

(V. 182.) (He said): 'Prince, henceforth you must think of me in case of a calamity or of a festival,' saluted him, and returned to his own residence. Spontaneous benefits shall surely bear such fruit.

(V. 184.) When the king (Kāshṭhāṅgāraka), having thus enjoyed himself a long time in the wood, was returning, his rutting elephant, called Aśanivēga, bolted at the noise and, without allowing himself to be stopped by others, madly ran towards Suramañjarī's carriage.

(V. 185.) Perceiving her, the prince decided to act according to *vinaya* and *unnaya*.* Approaching at once, he tired (the elephant) by thirty-two sports (*i.e.*, movements?) and, without being tired himself, easily tied him motionless to his post.

(V. 187.) When the people saw this, they entered the town praising his knowledge (of the management) of elephants.

(V. 188.) Henceforth Suramañjarī became smitten with love, her heart being agitated by the sight of prince Jīvandhara.

(V. 189.) Her mother and father having inferred from her gestures, movements, and conversations that she was filled with affection for Jīvandhara, they reported this to his father (Gandhōtkaṭa) and, with his consent, on (the day of) an auspicious constellation, bestowed (their daughter) with (great) riches on the prince. Thereafter he enjoyed pleasures to his heart's content, as (the object of) his love was worthy (of himself).

(V. 191.) The wicked king Kāshṭhāṅgāraka could not from anger bear that the people were continually conversing about the valour and good fortune of (Jīvandhara), and said to Chaṇḍadaṇḍa, the chief of the watchmen of that town: 'The stupid Jīvandhara has humiliated my rutting elephant by tying it up.† This highly conceited son of a Vaiśya is neglecting the occupations becoming his caste, *viz.*, the

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* According to Mr. Kuppusvami Sastri, these are technical terms of the art of treating elephants (*gaja-śikshā*).

† For बंधनम् read बन्धनात् and *cf.* verse 187.

buying and selling of cucumbers, myrobalans, dry ginger, etc., and devoting himself to actions suitable for king's sons. Let this evil-doer at once enter the jaws of death!'

(V. 196.) This man angrily attacked Jīvandhara with an armed force. Learning this, the prince with his companions, and eager for fighting, met him and at once inflicted defeat on him without sustaining any losses (himself).

(V. 197.) Kāshṭhāṅgāraka angrily dispatched another numerous army of his own.

(V. 198.) When Jīvandhara perceived this, (he thought) with a merciful heart: 'What avails this useless slaughter of miserable beings? I shall pacify that wicked Kāshṭhāṅgāraka by (other) means,' and thought of his friend, the Yakṣha.*

(V. 199.) The latter appeared and, guessing Jīvandhara's intention, put a stop to this whole (strife).

(V. 200.) Then the (Yaksha) friend made the prince mount the mighty elephant Vijayagiri and took (Jīvandhara), with the latter's consent, to his own residence. For, it is the way† of friends to show their own house (to their friends).

(V. 202.) (Jīvandhara's) companions and relatives, who were unaware of the event, all trembled like frail young shoots agitated by the wind, and were unable to support themselves. The clever Gandharvadattā, who knew the reason of his journey, was unmoved and comforted them all, saying: 'No danger threatens the prince. Therefore do not fear for him! He will soon return.'

(V. 205.) After Jīvandhara had comfortably stayed a long time in the Yaksha's dwelling, he intimated to the latter by gestures his desire of leaving.

(V. 206.) Observing his wish, the Yaksha gave him a splendid seal-ring which (enabled its bearer to assume any) desired appearance,‡ and which accomplished (all) desired objects.

(V. 207.) Having descended from that mountain§ and accompanied (Jīvandhara) some distance, he saluted and left him, as no danger threatened him from any side.

Padmottamā.

(V. 208.) When the prince had proceeded some distance, he reached a city named Chandrābha, which, on account of its whitewashed mansions, looked as if it were lighted by the moon.

(V. 209.) King Dhanapati ruled this town, like a regent of the quarters. His queen (was named) Tilōttamā, and the daughter of both Padmōttamā.

(V. 210.) When the latter was taking a walk in the wood, she was bitten by a poisonous snake. The king caused to be proclaimed in that town: 'On him who will free her from poison by (magic) jewels, spells, drugs, etc., I shall bestow this virgin along with one half of the kingdom.'

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* *Cf.* above, verse 182.

† For सद्भाव: I read स्वभाव:

‡ *Cf.* below, verse 403.

§ See above, verse 180.

(V. 212.) Hearing this, the snake-doctors (said): 'Even before now an ascetic named Āditya has predicted this,' and, from desire for the virgin, many (of them) came to cure her, (but) could not stop (the poison).

(V. 213.) At the king's command, servants hastened again to search for a doctor. By chance they perceived the prince and asked him excitedly: 'Do you perhaps know about poison?'

(V. 215.) He replied: 'I know a little about it.' Hearing his speech, they were pleased and joyfully conducted him (to the palace).

(V. 216.) He who was skilled in (magic) jewels and spells, thought of the Yaksha, pronounced a spell, and freed the princess from the effects of the poison.

(V. 217.) The king, who was pleased, inferred from the energy, complexion, and other characteristics of (the prince) that he must surely belong to a royal family, and bestowed on him his daughter and the above-mentioned half of the kingdom.

(V. 218.) Then (Jīvandhara) long enjoyed himself together with the virgin's thirty-two brothers, Lōkapāla, etc., who gained his affection by their virtues.

Kshemasundari.

(V. 219.) After (Jīvandhara) had stayed there some days, he once at night, impelled by fate and not observed by anybody, went a few gavyūtis* and reached a town named Kshēma in the district named Kshēma. In a lovely wood outside this (town) he perceived a temple of Jina that was adorned with a thousand pinnacles.

(V. 222.) As soon as he saw (this temple), he bowed repeatedly, with folded hands, circumambulated it three times, and began to praise it according to rule.

(V. 223.) Suddenly a Champaka tree appeared, which seemed distinctly to cover its surface with red paint by its (blossoms) springing forth.

(V. 224.) The Kōkilas, which had been dumb before, commenced to warble beautifully and sweetly, as though they had been cured (of their dumbness) by the medicine of his arrival.

(V. 225.) In the lake which lay near this Jaina temple, and which was filled with clear water resembling liquid crystals, all the water-flowers visibly unfolded themselves, with the humming of swarming bees, and the wings of the door of that (temple) opened by themselves.

(V. 227.) Observing this, he who had purified himself by bathing, devoutly worshipped Jina by (offering him) many flowers growing in that fine lake, and joyfully and eagerly praised him by suitable and desirable eulogies.

(V. 228.) In that (town) the chief merchant Subhadra and (his wife) Nirvṛiti had a daughter, Kshēmasundarī by name, who was as faultless † as the goddess of beauty herself.

(V. 229.) Formerly, the great ascetic Vinayandhara had predicted that, in the presence of her future husband, the Champaka flowers and all the other (tokens would appear).

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* 1 *Gavyūti* = 2 *Kōs.*

† *Kshūṇa* is the Prākṛit *khūṇa* = *dōsha* in Sanskrit: see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 205, n. 1.

(V. 230.) The servants placed there and appointed to observe these (tokens) were filled with joy by the sight of prince Jīvandhara.

(V. 231.) (They called out): 'Our appointment has borne fruit!', went to their master instantly, and reported * everything.

(V. 232.) (He said) joyfully: 'The words of ascetics are never untrue,' and formally bestowed on that illustrious one his daughter, who was worthy (of Jīvandhara).

(V. 233.) He further said (to the prince): 'When I was formerly residing at Rājapuram, king Satyandhara gladly gave me this bow and these arrows. They are worthy of you. Therefore do you take them!'

(V. 235.) Jīvandhara accepted them full of joy and lived pleasantly in that town. While his time was thus passing, one day Gandharvadattā visited prince Jīvandhara by means of her magic art.

(V. 236.) When she found him comfortably seated, she returned to Rājapuram without anybody's knowledge. For, the happiness of their beloved (husbands) is a festival to wives.

Hemabha.

(V. 237.) After some days, the prince, the performer of good deeds, left this town, as before, carrying bow and arrows, and reached the town of Hēmābha in the district of Sujana.

(V. 239.) The lord of this (town) was named Dṛiḍhamitra, his wife Nalinā, and the daughter of both Hēmābha. At her very birth somebody, it is said, had predicted as follows: 'If at the contest of archers on the sporting-ground in the Manōhara wood one will dispatch an arrow (in such a way) that it turns round near the target and flies back, this girl of lucky marks will become his wife.'

(V. 242.) When those who knew archery heard this prophecy, they were all intent on practising this. Prince Jīvandhara also went to this place from desire for her.

(V. 243.) When the archers saw him, they said: 'Sir, do you know the bow-practice mentioned in the prophecy?'

(V. 244.) He replied: 'I know a little (of it).' They said to him: 'Hit this target!' He took the bow and arrow which were ready, and let the latter go. (The arrow) returned to him without reaching the target. When those present saw this, they informed the king.

(V. 246.) The king (thought): 'The species of creeper which I was looking for, was clinging to my foot,† and gladly gave his daughter in marriage to (Jīvandhara) with (great) riches. This is called good fortune!

(V. 247.) (Jīvandhara's) brothers-in-law ‡ were Guṇamitra, Bahumitra, Sumitra, Dhanamitra, and others. Instructing all these in all arts, the prince stayed there a long time, enjoying (the fruits of) good deeds performed in former (births).

(V. 249.) When Nandāḍhya observed that Gandharvadattā frequently went

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* Read न्यवोपयत् for येतु.

† This is evidently a proverb.

‡ As Mr. Kuppusvami Sastri remarks, the Sanskrit word *maithuna* is here used in the sense of the Tamil மைத்துனர்.

from (Rājapuram) to Jīvandhara in secret and returned (again), he once asked her: 'Where do you go without anybody's knowledge? I too* would like to go (there). Tell it (me)!'

(V. 251.) She smiled and spoke distinctly as follows:—'If you want to go to the same place which I am visiting,—(there is) a couch named Smaratarangini, occupied by a deity. Lie down on this according to rule and think of your elder brother. In this way you will easily reach him.'

(V. 253.) Having heard her speech, he lay down on that couch at night. Then the magic art Bhōginī conducted him on the couch to his elder brother.

(V. 254.) The prince and Nandāḍhya looked at each other with joy, embraced, asked about (each other's) welfare, and remained there. There is nothing more pleasing in this world than the meeting of loving brothers.

Srichandra.

(V. 256.) In the same famous district of Sujana lies another town, named Nagaraśōbha. (Its ruler was) a brother of that king Dṛiḍhamitra†, called Sumitra‡. The queen of the latter (was named) Vasundharā and the beautiful and clever daughter of these two Śrīchandrā.

(V. 258.) When the latter had reached the beginning of youth, she once by chance perceived in the courtyard of the palace a couple of pigeons enjoying themselves to their hearts' content.

(V. 259.) Suddenly, the recollection of her (former) births came to her, and she swooned away.§ Those who stood near her were shocked to see her condition, carefully sprinkled her with water, cooled by sandal and khaskhas, calmed her mind by the refreshing draught produced by fans, waked her, and made her recover consciousness by kind words. What will not good friends do in difficult situations?

(V. 262.) When her parents heard this, they sorrowfully said to her daughter's friend Alakasundarī, daughter of Tilakachandrikā: 'Go and look after the girl, who has recovered from fainting.'

(V. 263.) This eloquent one went and asked the girl in secret: 'Mistress, tell me what the cause of your fainting was.'

(V. 264.) She (replied): 'If you want to hear the cause of my fainting,—for, there is nothing that I do not want to tell you, (as) you are dearer (to me) than life,—listen with collected thoughts'; and she recounted all her connections in former births, (which) she remembered completely.

(V. 266.) Having heard all this, the clever Alakasundarī at once quickly went and communicated to both (parents) the cause of her fainting, as she had heard it before, with clear and agreeable words as follows:

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* In अहं च (verse 250) and इदं च (verse 251), च is used in the sense of अपि.

† See above, verse 239.

‡ A nephew of this Sumitra, who bore the same name, was mentioned in verse 248.

§ In Professor Leumann's translation of a Jaina romance (*Die Nonne*, p. 26) the heroine is fainting under similar conditions.

(V. 268.) 'In the third existence before the present one, this girl was, as she says, the beautiful daughter of Ratnatējas, the chief of the Vaiśya caste at Rājapuram in the country of Hēmāṅgada, and of his wife Ratnamālā, and bore the name Anupamā (*i.e.*, 'the incomparable'), (but was such a one) not only by name, (but) also by virtues.

(V. 270.) 'In the same town, Kanakatējas, (another member) of the caste of Vaiśyas, had by Chandramālā a wicked, stupid son, (who) was named Suvarṇatējas.

(V. 271.) 'To him (Anupamā) had been betrothed before by her parents; but, as they despised him, they married her to Guṇamitra, a jeweller of the Vaiśya caste. With him she lived happily for a short time.

(V. 273.) 'Once on a sea-journey Guṇamitra met his death in a dangerous whirlpool at the disemboguement from the mouth of a river into the sea, and she went to the same place herself and found her death (there).

(V. 274.) 'Thereon (both) were reborn in a family of pigeons in the mansion of the Vaiśya Gandhōtkaṭa at Rājapuram; the husband was named Pavanavēgā and she Rativēgā.

(V. 275.) 'While the son (of Gandhōtkaṭa) was instructed in writing, this couple (of pigeons) itself learned the alphabet, saw how the husband and wife were quietly keeping the commandments (incumbent on) lay-worshippers, and happily lived there a long time, devoted to each other[*] in consequence of the affection which had come down to them from their previous birth.

(V. 277.) 'When Suvarnatējas died, he became a tom-cat in consequence of the hostility he had borne to (Anupamā).

(V. 278.) 'When he once happened to perceive that couple (of pigeons), he seized Rativēgā, as Rāhu does the disk of the moon.

(V. 279.) 'The male pigeon angrily attacked (the cat) with blows of beak, claws, and wings, and quickly forced him to let loose his mate.

(V. 280.) 'One day the male pigeon was killed in a snare that had been laid by bad (men) in a tree-hole near that town.

(V. 281.) 'When Rativēgā came home, she wrote (a report) with her own beak and informed all of her husband's death.

(V. 282.) 'Oppressed by the great grief of separation from him, she lost her life and was reborn as your beloved daughter Śrīchandrā.

(V. 283.) 'When she saw a couple of pigeons to-day, she remembered her former births and consequently fainted necessarily. All this she told me clearly.'

(V. 284.) When the parents heard Alakasundarī's speech, they were quite shocked. Wishing to search for their daughter's husband, they (got) an account of her former births clearly painted on cloth and placed it, with presents and honours, in the hands of a skilful (man) of the caste of dancers, named Rangatējas, and of (the female dancer) Madanalatā, carefully enjoining their duties (on both).

(V. 287.) These two unfolded the cloth in a wood named Pushpaka, which was filled with many people, and themselves began to dance.

(V. 288.) The father of (Śrīchandrā), who was taking a walk in that wood,

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* In verse 277 read संरक्तौ.

perceived there the great ascetic Samādhigupta. He circumambulated and saluted him, heard the truth of the (Jaina) doctrine (expounded by him), and then asked: 'Venerable one! Tell me where my daughter's husband in her former births is (now) dwelling'.

(V. 290.) Then he who possessed the divine avadhi—knowledge * said: 'He is now the son of a Vaiśya in Hēmābhapuram†, who has reached the age of youth'.

(V. 291.) As soon as the king heard the speech of the ascetic, he went there with the (two) dancers, his friends, and his whole retinue, and arranged a charming, wonderful dance.

(V. 292.) Nandāḍhya went together with the citizens to witness the dance. As he remembered his former births, he suddenly fainted.‡

(V. 293.) His elder brother Jivandhara made him recover consciousness by certain songs and rites and said to him: 'Tell me the cause of your fainting.'

(V. 294.) (Nandāḍhya) recounted whatever was painted on the cloth, and spoke to his elder brother as follows: 'I, the same (as before), have now been reborn as your brother.'

(V. 295.) (Jivandhara) was pleased and prepared (already) in advance a great festival on account of his marriage.

(V. 296.) Listen to the following other (event) that happened in connection with this.§ (There was) a lord of Kirātas who was known by the name of Harivikrama.

(V. 297.) Out of fear of his heirs, he went away and founded a town in a forest called Kapittha on the Diśāgiri (mountain). His wife (was named) Vanagirisundari.

(V. 298.) To this lord of the forest was born a son, Vanarāja. His servants were named Vaṭavṛikṣha, Mrityu, Chitrasēna, Saindhava, Arinjaya, Śatrumardhana and Atibala.

(V. 299.) His son's companions were Lōbhajaṅgha and Srishēṇa. When these two were once going to town, they perceived Śrīchandrā, who was enjoying herself in that forest and resembled the light of the moon.

(V. 301.) While they walked on, praising her, they perceived a horse which was going to drink water. They pushed its keepers aside, led it (to a tank), gave (water) to it, and felt satisfied.

(V. 302.) When afterwards these two benevolent (persons) returned from Harivikrama, they fully described in secret the great beauty of the body, etc., of that girl to Vanarāja, the profligate son of the lord of forest-dwellers.

(V. 303.) Hearing this, he felt desire for her, because, in his former birth as Suvarnatējas,‖ he had been in love with her, and dispatched the two (with the order): 'Bring her to me by some means!'

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* See the note on verse 128.

† See above, verse 237.

‡ *Cf.* Professor Leumann's German translation of a Jaina romance (*Die Nonne*, p. 43), where the hero is also fainting on looking at a picture.

§ For similar phrases *cf.* verses 368 and 406.

‖ See above, verses 271 and 277.

(V. 305.) The two went off, accompanied by brave soldiers, found out the bedroom of that girl, dug a tunnel, carried the girl away, left in that tunnel a letter in which was written: 'Śrīshēṇa and Lōhajaṅgha, the two brave ones, have abducted the girl', and joined Vanarāja, at night, just as Saturn and Mars with the sickle of the moon.

(V. 308.) At the time of sunrise (Śrīchandrā's) two brothers, on reading the letter, learned the abduction of the girl and, at the prince's[1] command, quickly took up the pursuit.

(V. 309.) When Śrīchandrā saw that (her two brothers) Kinnaramitra and Yakshamitra were fighting with those two,[2] (she vowed) with sorrowful heart: 'Before I see (again) our temple of Jina in our town, I shall enjoy nothing here'; and lapsed into silence.

(V. 311.) Vanarāja's two companions defeated the two princes, carried off (Śrīchandrā), and joyfully delivered her to the king's son.

(V. 312.) When that lord of the forest observed that she was wholly indifferent to him, he called his go-betweens, who were skilled in means for attaining this (object), and said: 'Make her enamoured of me by (some) means'!

(V. 313.) Having received this commission, they who knew how to bring about both conciliation and disaffection, went to Śrīchandrā (and said), in order to insinuate themselves gradually into her heart: 'Why do you stand like this? Take a bath! Dress yourself! Deck yourself with ornaments! Put on a garland! Enjoy dainty food! Pleasantly converse with us without hesitation, Śrīchandrā! Through many births you have with difficulty attained human existence. Do not lose in vain this hard-earned (advantage) by indifference to pleasures! In this world there is no suitor superior to Vanarāja in beauty and other virtues. You do not open your eyes properly and do not see (him). Join Vanarāja, as Lakshmī did the first wielder of the discus (*i.e.*, Vishṇu), as ornaments do the tree of ornaments,[3] as moon-light does the full-moon! What fool, having obtained a crest-jewel, will despise it?' With these and other intimidating speeches did they trouble her.

(V. 320.) When Harivikrama heard from secret (agents) of her distress, he thought: 'The girl will perhaps perish by the molestation of these (go-betweens),' scolded Vanarāja, and made her dwell with his own daughters.

(V. 322.) Then Dṛiḍhamitra and all (her) other relatives approached with an armed force,[4] in order to besiege that town, and their enemies (too) were ready for battle.

(V. 323.) When prince Jīvandhara saw this, he was touched by pity. (Reflecting) thus: 'The fight will make an end of many people. What is the use of it?', he thought of the Yaksha lord Sudarśana.[5]

(V. 324.) As soon as he thought of the Yaksha, the latter took the girl and

1 *Viz.*, Sumitra's; see verse 257.

2 *Viz.*, Lōhajangha and Śrīshēṇa.

3 Apparently the Kalpa-druma of paradise is meant.

4 For सन्नद्ध read सन्नद्ध.

5 See above, verse 182

gave her to the prince, without anybody being harmed. Those who fear sin, decide quarrels by diplomatical means.

(V. 326.) As the desired object had been attained, all the (assailants) gave up fighting[1] and returned to town. Vanarāja followed them, in order to give battle.

(V. 327.) As soon as the Yaksha perceived this knave, he seized him by force and handed him over to the prince.

(V. 328.) The illustrious prince made Vanarāja prisoner[2] and halted with his army at a lake named Sēnāramya.

(V. 329.) There he suddenly perceived a powerful wandering ascetic who had come to ask for alms. He rose before him, duly saluted him, and devoutly gave him suitable dainty food. By this gift he acquired merit and beheld the five miracles.[3]

(V. 331.) When Vanarāja saw the fruit of this gift, he remembered his connections in (former) births and whatever had happened (to himself).

(V. 332.) Harivikrama approached with a great army, in order to fight. The Yaksha seized him too and placed him in the hands of the prince.

(V. 333.) Then Vanarāja revealed to all the whole (truth), as follows: 'In the third existence before this I was a son of merchants,' (named) Suvarṇatējas. After my death I next became a tom-cat and attempted to kill this girl, (who had become) a female pigeon in her former birth. By some ascetic I was freed from enmity, as I heard (from him) how I had passed through the four stages of being[4] known (to him); was reborn here; and caused her to be abducted from love of her.'

(V. 336.) When they heard his speech, they were pacified, as they recognised that he had not caused the girl to be abducted from arrogance, but[5] from affection.

(V. 337.) They had the fetters of Vanarāja's father and of himself removed and set (both of them) free. For herein the righteousness of the good (shows itself).

(V. 338.) Then they went to the town of the king (*viz.*, Dṛidhamitra)[6] and stayed (there) two or three days. (Thence) they went to Nagaraśōbha,[7] and on their arrival bestowed the unhappy Śrīchandrā with great riches on the wealthy Nandāḍhya.

Jivandhara's Former Births.

(V. 339.) When, after the celebration of the marriage, (Jīvandhara) with his relatives returned to the town of Hēmabhā, (some) men of his retinue, who, with

1 For साहाय्य read संहाय.

2 For बन्धीकृत्य read बन्दीकृत्व.

3 As Professor Leumann kindly informs me, *āścharya-pañchakam*, 'the five wonderful effects', *viz.*, a shower of heavenly flowers, etc., are mentioned whenever a saint of special merit has been hospitably entertained. Elsewhere (*e.g.*, at the end of *Āvaśyaka-chūrṇi* III) these five miracles are styled *pañcha-divyani*. For this term see also J. J. Meyer's *Hindu Tales*, p. 212, and Hertel's *Pañchatantra* (Leipzig, 1914), pp. 374, 385.

4 These are: beings in hell, animals, men, and gods; see *Tattvārthādhigama*, VIII, 11 *f.*

5 For न तु I read किंतु.

6 See above, verse 237.

7 See above, verse 256.

the permission[1] of Satyandhara's son, had gone to the bank of a lake to fetch water there, were bitten by vicious bees and reported this, full of fear, to prince Jīvandhara.

(V. 342.) When the prince heard this, he thought wonderingly: 'This must have some reason,' and, to find it out, thought of the Yaksha.

(V. 343.) As soon as the latter appeared there, he overcame[2] the magic power of a Khēchara[3] and placed this Khēchara before the prince.

(V. 344.) The prince asked him: 'For what reason are you protecting this lake?' The Khēchara spoke distinctly: 'Listen attentively, good sir! I shall tell you my story. (Formerly) I was named Jātibhaṭa and was[4] the son of a wealthy gardener named Pushpadanta and of (his wife) Kusumaśrī at Rājapuram. In the same (town) Dhanadatta had by Nandinī a son (named) Chandrābha, who was my companion. To him you were once expounding the (Jaina) doctrine. Then my heart was attracted by that doctrine, and I vowed abstention from wine, meat, etc. After my death I became in consequence of that (virtuous deed)[5] a Vidyādhara in this life. In a temple of Jina (on the mountain) Siddhakūṭa, I perceived a couple of wandering ascetics, humbly approached them, and learned (from them) that we two[6] had been connected in a (former) birth. In order to meet you, I remained (here) and protected this lake by magic power from being trespassed upon by others. I shall relate your connections in a (former) birth, as revealed (to me) by the divine avadhi (knowledge.)[7]

(V. 351.) '(There is) a town (named) Puṇḍarikiṇī in Pushkalāvati a province of Vidēha on the east of (mount) Mēru in the eastern division of Dhātakī-khaṇḍa.[8] The ruler of this (town) was Jayandhara. As his son by Jayavatī, (named) Jayadratha, you were born.[9] When you had once gone to enjoy yourself in a wood named Manōhara, you there perceived in a lake a young swan. Out of curiosity you had it brought by skilled servants and intended to bring it up. In the air the distressed parents of (the swan) repeatedly uttered miserable shrieks. Hearing this, one of your servants pulled his bow-string as far as his ear, and killed the father of (the swan) by an arrow. Nothing (appears) illicit to the wicked! When your mother saw this, her heart was filled with pity, and she asked: 'What is that?' When one of the servants told her, the virtuous (lady) became angry with that servant who had needlessly shot that (bird), scolded him,

1 For निरीक्ष्य read निरीह्य.

2 For विध्वस्त read विध्वस्य.

3 See the note on verse 119.

4 For अभवत् read अभवं.

5 For तत्फलान्नूतन् read तत्फलान्नृतः

6 *Viz.*, the Vidyādhara and Jīvandhara.

7 See the note on verse 128.

8 This is the name of the annular continent surrounding Jambūdvīpa beyond the salt-sea; see Kirfel's *Kosmographie*, p. 249.

9 For ऽभूज्जयद्रथः read ऽभूज्जयद्रथः

and said to you: 'That was not right of you, my son! Unite this (young swan) quickly with its mother!' You (said): 'I have done this deed out of ignorance,' and blamed and accused yourself with a soft heart. On the sixteenth day after the day on which the young swan had been taken away (from its parents), you returned it to its mother, as the rainy season does the Chātaka (bird) to the line of rain-clouds, or as the month Madhu[1] does the mango-flower to its branch, or as the sunrise does the bee to the lotus-plant. When (your) time had passed pleasantly with these and other enjoyments, you suddenly felt, for some reason, disgust[2] with pleasures, put down the burden of the kingdom, and put on the burden of austerity. At the end of your life you left the body and became a god in Sahasrāra.[3] Having lived there for eighteen 'oceans',[4] and being satiated with heavenly enjoyments, you sank down thence and were reborn here in consequence of your good and bad deeds. That swan which had been killed by your servant was reborn as Kāṣṭhāṅgāraka. The latter killed your father in battle before you were born. In consequence of the sin committed by separating the young swan from its parents, you became separated from your relatives for sixteen years.'

(V. 366.) When (Jīvandhara) learned these (facts) revealed by the Vidyādhara, he paid reverence to him, saying: 'You are (my) fellow in fortune.'

(V. 367.) Thence he went to the town of Hēmābha, reached it joyfully, and remained (there), enjoying to his heart's content the pleasures of love together with his friends.

Jīvandhara meets his mother.

(V. 368.) The following other story is told in connection with this. On the day following Nandāḍhya's departure from his town,[5] Gandharvadattā was asked by Madhura[6] and her other friends: 'Tell us if you know where the two princes[7] have gone.'

(V. 370.) She said respectfully: 'Both are living comfortably in the town of Hēmābha in the country of Sujana. Why are you anxious about them?'

(V. 371.) Having learnt the place where the two were staying, they all wished to visit them, took leave of all their relatives, and were gladly granted leave by them.

(V. 372.) On the way they rested at a settlement of ascetics in the Daṇḍaka forest. While the female ascetics came and looked at them with curiosity, the great queen,[8] who also saw them, asked them full of kindness: 'Whence have you come, and whither do you want to go?'

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1 *Cf.* above, verses 25 and 164.

2 For निर्वेगे read निर्वेद.

3 This is the name of the sixth heaven; see Kirfel's *Kosmographie*, p. 292.

4 *Vardhi (=Varidhi)* evidently represents *Sagarōpama*. According to Kirfel's *Kosmographie*, p. 310, the life of the inhabitants of the uppermost storey of Sahasrāra lasts eighteen *Sāgarōpamas*.

5 *Cf.* above, verse 353.

6 See above, verse 73.

7 *Viz.* Jīvandhara and Nandāḍhya; see above, verse 254 f.

8 *Viz.* Vijayā; see above, verse 59.

(V. 374.) When they told her the true facts, she distinctly recognised full of joy that this company of young men was the retinue of her own son, and asked them eagerly: 'Start (only) after you have rested here to-day! When you return, bring him (*viz.*, my son) here!'

(V. 376.) They began to doubt thus: 'In figure she is not different from the reports (received by) Jīvandhara. Could she be his mother?'

(V. 377.) (They promised her): 'We shall do so,' and pleased her by speeches referring to her dear (son). When they had thence gone a little farther,* they were harassed there by robbers, (but) overcame those flesh-eaters in fight by their valour. Going on, they accidentally joined on the road some other robbers.

(V. 379.) The citizens, being excited by the plundering of a caravan from Hēmābhapuram, lamenting, with their hands raised up, had reported this deed to the merciful Jīvandhara. He, whose valour was inconceivable, went and intercepted the army of the robbers in fight, and returned the whole property that had been seized by them, to the merchants.

(V. 381.) Having fought a long time, prince Jīvandhara, perceiving that the arrows dispatched (by the enemy) were marked by his own name, recognised that (his opponents) were Madhura, etc.

(V. 382.) These joined the prince, told him all the news from Rājapuram, rested, and stayed (with him) some time in comfort.

(V. 383.) Then they started with the prince for their own town and reached the Daṇḍaka forest, in order to halt (there a while).

(V. 384.) When the great queen saw her son, as Rukmiṇī did the god of love, she lamented, and her high bosom filled with milk from affection; her tremulous eyes were dimmed with tears; her slender body was quite emaciated; she had been scorched by thousands of cares; her hairs formed a (single) braid; her lips were bereft of their (red) colour by incessant hot sighs; and her rows of teeth were covered with a thick (crust of) dirt, as she had abstained from betel, etc. In the first moment, the sight of dear (persons) after a long period produces pain.

(V. 388.) With outstretched hands, he prostrated himself at her lotus feet, letting her drink,† as it were, the nectar of happiness, which was produced by the touch of her son, and which she had not enjoyed (for a long time).

(V. 389.) She affectionately welcomed him with hundreds of blessings: 'Rise, prince! Let hundredfold bliss be your share!', and spoke as follows: 'Prince, my grief has suddenly departed as though it had been greatly frightened by its enemy: the feeling of delight produced by your sight.'

(V. 391.) While the queen was thus conversing with her son, in the meantime the clever Yaksha arrived in haste out of affection for the prince.

(V. 392.) From devotion to the true doctrine of the Jainas, he honoured all (Jinas) separately by bathing, garlands, ointments, and all (kinds of) ornaments, dresses, food, etc.; dispelled the grief of the mother and of the son by sweet, true,

*For तत्रोत्तरं read ततोन्तरं.

† For ज्ञापयन् 1 propose पाययन्.

and reasonable speeches and by love-stories, etc. ; and returned to his own residence after he had thus shown them respect. This is (true) friendship, which is experienced by friends in calamities.

(V. 395.) The queen recognised that great fortune was awaiting the prince, and spoke in secret to him, who possessed both wisdom and courage, as follows: 'Kāshṭhāṅgāraka has slain your father, the great king Satyandhara, at Rājapuram and is ruling the kingdom. Consequently he is your enemy. It does not become yoṣi, who are high-minded, to renounce your father's throne.'

(V. 397.) Hearing this, he assented to her speech and thought: 'Valour shown at the wrong time produces as little fruit as seed sown out of season. I must await the time that is favourable for the enterprise.'

(V. 399.) Though filled with anger, the clever (prince) concealed it in his heart (and said): 'Mother, when this plan is carried out, I shall send an army under the leadership of Nandāḍhya to fetch you. Until then, you must wait here some days, free from care.'

Vimala.

(V. 401.) He left with her everything that was necessary for her, and some retinue, and himself went to Rājapuram.

(V. 402.) Having reached it, he sent his servants, etc., in advance and instructed (each of them) separately not to communicate his arrival to anybody; assumed the disguise of a Vaiśya by the power of the magic ring;* entered the town; and resided in some shop.

(V. 404.) When the merchant Sāgaradatta observed that, owing to the presence of (Jīvandhara) in this (town), many kinds of jewels and other articles brought unheard of profit, he gave him his own daughter Vimalā, whose mother (was named) Kamalā, (in marriage), as (the prince) had been predestined (to her) by the prophecies of astrologers.

Gunamala.

(V. 406.) While he was pleasantly living there some days, he once entered Kāshṭhāṅgāraka s hall of audience in the disguise of a wandering ascetic.

(V. 407.) Perceiving him, (Jīvandhara) bestowed (on him) blessings and honours, and said: 'Listen, O King! I ask you for food as a worthy guest. Give me to eat!'

(V. 408.) Hearing this, (the king) granted his wish, saying: 'This is, (like) an excellent flower, the means (of production) of the fruit of my efforts.'

(V. 409.) (Jīvandhara) occupied the place of honour and ate. Then he left (the hall), joined the company of princes, and declared (to each of them) separately: 'In my hand I have drugs of sure effect, *viz.*, powders, etc., by which one can make others subject to himself. Whoever likes may purchase them.

(V. 411.) When they heard this, (they thought): 'Look at his impudence! How does such an old age (suit) the preparation of powders, pigments, etc., by which one can make others subject to himself!'

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* See above, verse 208.

(V. 412.) They all laughed at his speech and said to him: 'Best Brāhmaṇa! Well-known in this town is a virgin named Guṇamālā, who has become an enemy of men because Jīvandhara did not praise her fragrant powder.* Subdue her by your powders, pigments, etc.! When we see that, we shall purchase all your spells, drugs, etc., at high prices.'

(V. 415.) Feigning anger, he replied: 'Your Jīvandhara is a blockhead. Is he perhaps able to judge the difference between fragrant powders, etc.?'

(V. 416.) Then all angrily told the Brāhmaṇa: 'How dare you talk of that excellent man so unrestrainedly and inconsiderately? Have you, who are puffed up by defective knowledge, not heard the proverb: Self-praise and blaming of others are no better than death?'

(V. 418.) Thus scolded by them, he praised himself proudly: 'Haven't I too admirers of your description?', promised that he would make Guṇamālā his slave † in an instant, and went to her house.

(V. 420.) There he called one of her servants and told her: 'Inform your mistress that a Brāhmaṇa is standing at the door!'

(V. 421.) She reported this message of the Brāhmaṇa to her mistress. Thereon the latter allowed the old Brāhmaṇa to enter, received him suitably, and asked him: 'Whence do you come, or whither do you want to go?'

(V. 422.) He replied: '*Afterwards* I have come here, and *before* I shall go again.'

(V. 423.) When the girl's servants heard this, they laughed. The Brāhmaṇa said to them: 'Do not laugh like that! Old age produces *perversity*. Will not this be your fate (too)?'

(V. 425.) When (Guṇamālā) asked again and again: 'Where do you want to go?, (he said): 'My going (will continue) until I reach a worthy girl.'

(V. 426.) When she heard the Brāhmaṇa's speech, she said jestingly: 'He is old in body and age, (but) not in heart,' seated him in the place of honour, ate herself, and said: 'Now go quickly whither you want to!'

(V. 428.) He praised her, saying: 'You have well spoken to me, my dear,' got up with difficulty, stumbling and resting on his stick, and mounted her couch as if she had told him (to do so).

(V. 429.) When the servants saw that, (they called out): 'Look at his impudence!', and attempted to stop him by laying hands on him.

(V. 430.) (He said): 'You have spoken quite correctly. Shame suits only women, not men. If shame were common (also) to the latter, how would then the union of men to women, produced by love, be (possible)?'

(V. 432.) When she heard this speech of the old man, she thought: 'This is no mere Brāhmaṇa, (but) one who has visited me by means of the magic art of

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* See above, verses 169—176.

† *Ghaṭadasī* corresponds to the Tamil [illegible], *Cf. Kumbhadāsī* in Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtram* (p. 184, l. 3; p. 348, l. 4; p. 363, l. 13), and the article 'Tonicatchy' in *Hobson-Jobson*.

changing his appearance'; and kept her servants back, saying: 'What harm is there? The Brāhmaṇa is my guest. Let him remain here!'

(V. 434.) At the end of that night the old man, who knew the different notes of the (Rāga) Śuddhadeśaja,* sang a long time sweetly and pleasing to the ears.

(V. 435.) 'This is ornate, lovely, and pleasant to the ears, like prince Jīvandhara's song at Gandharvadattā's marriage.' (With these thoughts Guṇamālā) rose in the morning, humbly approached him, and asked: 'Which sciences do you know'?

(V. 437.) (He replied): 'I have studied the sciences of virtue, politics, and love repeatedly and carefully. In these, the fruit of virtue and politics is ascertained from the science of love. If (you ask) how this (happens), I shall make some remarks on it. (There are) five senses, and their objects are taught to be fivefold, *viz.*, 'touch', etc. Touch is, as tradition says, eightfold, *viz.*, 'hard', etc. The wise declare 'taste' to be sixfold, *viz.*, 'sweet', etc. 'Smell' is considered to be twofold: 'artificial' and 'natural'; either of them is found in good-smelling and evil-smelling lifeless things. 'Colour' is fivefold, being divided into white, black, etc. The 'notes' are seven, *viz.*, shadja, etc., and are produced by living (beings) and lifeless (things). Thus there are twenty-eight (objects of the five senses). They have fifty-six varieties, being again doubled by the two alternatives 'desirable' and 'undesirable.' Of these, (the objects) of those who have performed good deeds are desirable. These good deeds (are produced) by virtue. 'Virtue' is called by the good the avoidance of forbidden objects. Consequently wise men who avoid forbidden objects and enjoy the remaining ones, are in this world considered professors of the science of love. In some of the (objects) enjoyed by you faults are found.

(V. 445.) When she heard his speech, she said: 'You must give (me) instruction, in order to remove these faults. I shall become your pupil;' and the Brāhmaṇa instructed her in the arts, etc.

(V. 447.) One day all (the princes)† again went to that wood, in order to enjoy themselves. He (*viz.*, Jivandhara), who was staying there with Guṇamālā, in a secluded spot, showed (her) his real appearance. When the virtuous girl looked at him, she was ashamed and began to suspect (him).

(V. 449.) Seeing her keeping silence, he at once regained her confidence by (repeating) former remarks (of his) referring to the fragrant powder, etc.‡

(V. 450.) Again assuming his former appearance, he lay down on a couch of flowers and commanded her: 'Shampoo my legs!'

(V. 451.) When the princes observed her performing this duty from affection they were all astonished and praised his spells, etc.

(V. 452.) Then he went home from that wood. Guṇamālā secretly informed her mother and father of Jivandhara's arrival, and they both bestowed her on him as his wedded wife.

(V. 453.) After Jīvandhara had stayed there some days, enjoying pleasures with her, he mounted the rutting elephant Vijayagiri, followed by all his relatives

* See the note on verse 146.

† *Cf.* above, verse 416.

‡ *Cf.* above, verse 173 f.

and surrounded by an army of four arms,* while the people were praising his high fortune; and entered Gandhōtkaṭa's house in full splendour.

(V. 456.) When Kāshṭhāṅgāraka heard of his festival (procession), (he exclaimed) angrily: 'Look! The son of the Vaiśyas is mad and does not fear me in the least,' and openly bore him a grudge.

(V. 457.) When his chief ministers observed this, they quickly pacified him by reasonable speeches like the following: 'Fate has openly favoured this powerful prince Jīvandhara; Gandharvadattā has joined him, like the goddess of fortune herself; a Yaksha is in league with him as his unfailing friend; he is closely united with Madhura and other companions; and his courage is unshakable. It is not advisable to quarrel with him. There is no reason for fighting with a strong one.'

Ratnavatī.

(V. 461.) The following other (story) is told in connection with this. In the province of Vidēha (lies) a highly renowned city called Vidēha.

(V. 462.) Its ruler was king Gōpēndra, who overthrew his enemies. (He had), by queen Pṛithivīsundarī, a virtuous daughter (named) Ratnāvatī.

(V. 463.) The latter made the following vow: I shall adorn with the garland (of victory) him who knows how to hit the Chandraka.† None else I desire for my husband.'

(V. 464.) When her father heard this, (he thought): 'In this world Jīvandhara is a famous expert of archery. Therefore I shall take my daughter near him.'

(V. 465.) He went to Rājapuram with his daughter and with an army, and caused to be proclaimed in public that the election of a husband (would take place).

(V. 466.) When the lords of the earth and of the Khēcharas heard this proclamation, they all went at once to Rājapuram, in order to win the virgin.

(V. 467.) When prince Jīvandhara saw that at this election of a husband those numerous princes failed to hit the Chandraka, he bowed to the Siddhas; paid reverence to his teacher Āryavarmā;‡ stood on that wheel, full of splendour and without stumbling, just as the morning sun does on the mountain of sunrise; hit (the mark); and uttered a war-cry that made the quarters of the horizon resound.

(V. 470.) Then the umpires praised him: 'He has hit well', and (Ratnāvatī) joyfully placed the garland (of victory) on the prince's neck.

(V. 471.) (Among the people present) there, the good ones were pleased (and said): 'The union of those two is indeed suitable, as that of autumn with the cluster of swans.'

(V. 472.) The wise ones of middle quality showed indifference (and said): 'The virtuous are everywhere victorious. Is this to be wondered at?'

(V. 473.) The mean ones, with Kāshṭhāṅgāraka at their head, who had been

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* *Vis.* elephants, chariots, cavalry, and infantry.

† According to the other versions, this was a machine (*yantram*) which moved quickly on a wheel (*chakram*). *Cf. Kshatra-chūḍāmaṇi*, p. 109.

‡ See above, verses 99—105.

(already) before humiliated by him, remembered this. Prompted by evil anger, (these) knaves attempted to abduct the virgin in the tumult of fight.

(V. 474.) The prudent Jivandhara was aware of their enmity and dispatched to the (former) vassals, etc., of the Mahārāja Satyandhara many envoys, with presents and with the following message: 'I was born by Vijayā to the lord Satyandhara. In consequence of my former deeds, I was separated from both (parents) immediately after my birth, and grew up under the protection of this chief of merchants (Gandhōtkaṭa). That wicked Kāshṭhāṅgāraka, who used to earn his living by selling wood, coal, etc., had been appointed minister by your king. When the low-born knave found an opportunity, he, like a snake, killed him and seized the kingdom himself. He must be quickly uprooted, as he is not only my own, (but) also your enemy. Even if he would fly into the nether world, I shall surely kill him to-day. Hence the faithful vassals, soldiers, servants, high officials, and other dependents of king Satyandhara must from gratitude uproot that ingrate.'

(V. 482.) When they heard his message, many (of them) joined him, as they were convinced that this prince was really the king's son.

(V. 483.) With an armed force he attacked him (*viz.*, Kāshṭhāṅgāraka) in person, fought a long time in many ways, and defeated his army.

(V. 484.) Mounted on the powerful rutting elephant Vijayagiri, he slew the mighty, proud Kāshṭhāṅgāraka, who was seated on the renowned elephant Aśanivēga, and angrily beheaded his enemy by his discus.

(V. 486.) When (Kāshṭhāṅgāraka's) army saw this and withdrew* out of fear of destruction, he inspired it with confidence by proclaiming an amnesty.

(V. 487.) He assembled all his relatives, received them respectfully, and pleased them by conversations, etc., suitable for the occasion.

(V. 488.) Having worshipped the Jinas and having performed the (prescribed) auspicious ceremonies, he was anointed to the kingdom by the Yaksha and all princes, celebrated the great festival of his marriage with Ratnāvatī, and crowned Gandharvadattā as chief queen.†

(V. 490.) United with his mother, his wives, etc., who had been fetched by Nandāḍhya‡, etc., he attained universal sovereignty and ruled, full of power, subduing his enemies, easily protecting all his subjects according to rule, and playfully enjoying desirable pleasures: the fruits of his good deeds.

Conclusion.

(V. 492.) Once when the king was taking a walk in the park Suramalaya, he perceived the ascetic Varadharmā, approached him, bowed to him, listened to his exposition of the truth, accepted the commandments, and became pure in faith. Nandāḍhya, etc., also accepted righteousness, the commandments, and the vows.§

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* For भयादुपगते read भयादपगते.

† Perhaps महिष्याः may be read for महत्याः. Otherwise महती would be used in the sense of महादेवी.

‡ *Cf.* above, verse 399 *f.*

§ For the commandments (*vrata*) and vows (*śīla*) see *Tattvārthadhigāma*, VII, 1 *f.* and 16.

(V. 494.) With these intimates of his, he passed the time pleasantly. One day he perceived in a forest of Aśōka trees a herd of monkeys fighting with each other, while the fire of anger was burning in them[1] and he felt disgust[2] with the world.

(V. 495.) In the same forest he saw a wandering ascetic named Praśastavaṅka, listened respectfully to the account of his own births (which the ascetic gave him) in the same way as he had heard it before,[3] and worshipped the Jinas with increasing purity.

(V. 497.) Hearing of the glorious arrival of (Mahāvīra), the lord of Jinas, in the park Suramalaya, he went and worshipped the highest lord, and bestowed his kingdom according to rule on prince Vasundhara, the son of the great queen (Gandharvadattā).

(V. 499.) The high-minded one, who was free from infatuation, together with his maternal uncle and the other princes, *viz.*, Nandāḍhya, Madhura, etc., vowed self-control, renouncing all earthly bonds. For, after the lords of the world have enjoyed its pleasures, they become free from desire.

(V. 501.) Together with Satyandhara's great queen (Vijayā), her eight beautiful daughters-in-law, *viz.*, Gandharvadattā, etc., and their mothers at once vowed complete self-control before (the nun) Chandanāryā. A single important reason causes many to reach their aim.

(V. 503.) 'This one, about whom you asked, O king,[4] is the great ascetic Jīvandhara, who is powerful and practises severe austerity. He is now a Śrutakēvalī.[5]

(V. 504.) 'After he has overcome the destructive sins,[6] has become a houseless Kēvalī, has associated with the founder of the (Jaina) religion, and has attained salvation,—he who has sacrificed (*i.e.*, destroyed the consequences of) all his deeds, is filled with the eight desirable qualities,[7] is of firm mind, and spotless, will enter highest bliss on the mountain Vipula.'

(V. 506.) When Śrēṇika had heard this nectar-like speech of the chief disciple Sudharmā, he was satisfied. Who will not feel satisfaction at the (Jaina) doctrine?

(V. 507.) With joined hands I salute that lord Jīvandhara who, in consequence of former good deeds, won eight virgins hard to be won by others; who at

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1 *Cf.* Jātaka, No. 408, verse 92.

2 For जिवेग read जिवेद.

3 *Cf.* above, verses 351—366.

4 See above, verse 4.

5 The Digambaras name five Śrutakēvalīs, the last of whom was Bhadrabāhu; see Sir R. Bhandarkar's Report for 1883-84, pp. 122, 124. A Kēvalī is one who possesses omniscience (*Kēvalam*).

6 See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 199, n. 4.

7 For संपूर्णे read संपूर्णो. According to the Tamil dictionaries an Arhat possesses eight qualities (எண்குணத்தான்). *Cf. South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 107, n. 1.

the head of battle dispatched into the other world the enemy who had killed his father; and who became an ascetic, dispelled the darkness of his deeds, and was illumined by the splendour of salvation.

(V. 508.) As, through ignorance, Jivandhara had mercilessly separated a young swan from its parents for sixteen days, so he suffered separation from his own relatives for sixteen years. Do not commit this sin, ye pious ones!

(V. 509.) Death of his royal father; his birth on the cemetery; arrival of the merchant; benefit conferred on the Yaksha; his rise; slaying of his enemy: consider this wonderful play of fate in (the life of) Jivandhara!

Here ends the story of Jivandhara in the holy Trishashti-lakshana-mahapurana-saugraha composed by the venerable Gunabhadracharya.

THE ANCIENT STORY OF DEVARAYADROOG.

(A Paper read before the Mythic Society)

BY REV. F. GOODWILL.

THE old fort of Devarāyadroog stands about ten miles east of the town of Tumkur, from which it is approached through some miles of hilly jungle country. About thirty miles to the east the hills about Nundydroog and the famous Droog itself loom up through the haze. The distance is not too great for night signalling to have been accomplished in old days, though if done its meaning must have been extremely limited.

For some centuries after the history of Nundydroog becomes traceable through extant inscriptions, the story of Devarāyadroog remains hidden, if indeed the hill was early appropriated to military use. The long rule of the Gangas, from the second century to the close of the tenth century of the Christian era, over a considerable part of the Mysore country, is unmarked by any known reference to Devarāyadroog. Unimportant inscriptions from the end of the fifth century show the Gangas in power in the adjoining Dodballapur Taluk; the sixth century gives evidence of their rule in the Bangalore District; and they are clearly at Tumkur in the seventh century. But, though the whole surrounding district bears some evidence of Ganga authority, there is nothing forthcoming as to the religious or military significance of Devarāyadroog through all these centuries.

Neither did the Cholas leave any sign here of their rule in the land for about one hundred and twenty years.

The Hoysalas, by their capture of the Chola capital of Talkad in 1116 A.D., regained the country for the Kanarese peoples. They were a brilliant and cultured dynasty, liberal in their creed, ready supporters of the four great religions of their kingdom; and their women-folk especially were conspicuously liberal in their support of all creeds. By about the beginning of the thirteenth century they were in undisputed power—so far as any dynasty in early Indian history reigned without serious opposition—from Conjeeveram to Poona and Raichur. It is in this century that we have the first authentic reference to the hill which is our subject. The date of it is 1269 A.D. At this time Narasimhadeva was ruling his kingdom from Dōrasamudra, more properly Dvārasamudra, now better known as Halebid. An underlink of his, with the formidable name of Kumāra Vīra Chikka Kētayya Dannāyaka, was then in authority in Ānebiddajari, as Devarāyadroog was then and for long after called. The name had its origin in

the activities of a rogue elephant, believed to be under the influence of supernatural powers, which did much damage and caused a great scare in the town, but finally, in attempting to walk up a very steep part of the hill, slipped and fell to its death. It is significant of the former fauna of these hills that the word "Āne" = "elephant" is part of the name of at least three spots in the neighbourhood of the hill. Now the surrounding forest is so overgrown with pestiferous lantana that it is likely soon to be entirely devoid of animal life.

Our hero of 1269 was possibly a son-in-law of the previous Hoysala king, and is said in the inscription to have been "a champion loved by his subjects". The country was worth raiding, and Gūlēya Nāyaka, joining with some Irugōlas, came burning, raiding and driving off cattle. The repulse of the invaders seems to have been entrusted to one Appeya Nāyaka, and he pursued them, destroyed and slew them, and "recovered the cows". But alas! this young hero fell in the forest and gained Siva lōka all too soon. This illuminating story is taken from his Vīrakkal which is in Tumkur, and possibly this fact indicates the direction of the pursuit—westward, toward the open country, free of the encompassing hills.

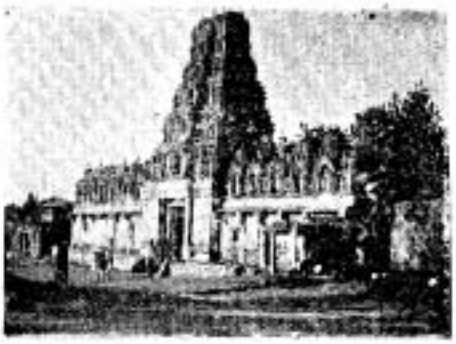
Several inscriptions of the time of Rāmanātha Dēva, 1279 and later, shed some light on the political life of the time; his royal residence from which he ruled over the Tamil districts of his father and over Kolar was but little to the east of Devarāyadroog at Kundani,* near to Devanahalli; but there is no discovered inscription that throws any light upon the position of our subject in the life of the countryside.

The Hoysalas pass, and the kings of Vijayanagar take their lands and authority. The next clear reference to Devarāyadroog is dated 1387 A.D. It is found in a beautifully cut inscription, 5' x 3' 4", engraved on the living rock just above the pool to which reference is made in it. It tells how Pōleya Nāyaka of the bodyguard of Harihara Rāya built the pond, which he called by his own name Pōleya Samudra, *lit.* "the sea of Pōleya". It is not possible that the pool can ever have been more than a mere catchment of surface water, and that of small area. But when we remember the value of water on such hills in the hot weather, and against times of siege, we know that every builder of a tank was a benefactor, and that every such work was worthy of a name vastly greater than would be fitting elsewhere. That this gentleman was of the bodyguard suggests that Devarāyadroog was then of considerable importance, as it had been a century before. And important enough that every addition to its water-supply was of value.

The kingdom of Vijayanagar hastens in the sixteenth century to its fall, but before that happens the marriage tax is remitted by the great minister

* This capital is in the Salem District, and shows vestiges of its past greatness.

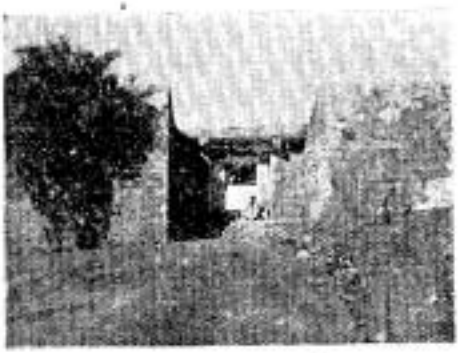
Bastion (probably Tippu's) on East of the Hill.



Temple in village on site of the old Pettah.

Narasimha temple on the upper Hill.

Magazine on Summit of the Droog.



Some good walling on Summit, North-East.

A general view of the upper Hill.

DEVARAYADURGA.

Krishna Raja, "the great minister skilled in listening to instruction," over wide areas; Penukonda, Gooty, Kurnool, Nāgamangalam, Mulvāyi (Mulbāgal) and Rāyadurga all share in the joy of the remission.

After the fall of the capital in 1565, the dynasty continues to rule, with lessened territory but with possibly more pretentious titles, from the new capital of Penukonda. These kings claim to be "kings of Karnātaka". One of the first, Tirumala Rāja, gives Mallasamudram, "in the Ānebidd'ajari Sthāna', as an Agrahāra; but the fact is not illuminating, except that it shows us that the Droog is still a centre of active political life.

For clearer records of Devarāyadroog it is necessary to look on to the end of the seventeenth century, when the present Mysore dynasty had gained authority in the country which they still rule with such lustre. Dodda Devarāya well deserved his name of "great", for he was great in his deeds for the land. He made ponds, wells, roads, built temples and chattrams on a remarkably extensive scale. This indicated more than is at first sight apparent—that the country was at peace, and secure from marauding enemies. There was still reason to acknowledge something of the suzerainty of Vijayanagar, though the representative of the dynasty was now a fugitive from Penukonda and had taken refuge with Sivappa Nāyaka at Bednore. The Mysore line had now settled in the island fortress of Seringapatam, and it may be that Sivappa Nāyaka's threat against it was but an occasion for the acknowledgment of the overlordship of Vijayanagar, which could not really have amounted to anything. Perhaps it was the proximity of Chenrāyapatna to his threatening neighbour of Bednore that made Dodda Devarāya hand over this town to the prince of Kānkanahalli.

Chikka Devarāya is more closely connected than any previous ruler with this hill fort of Devarāyadroog. It was then in the hands of a robber chief called Jadaka, and had been called after him Jadakanadurga. In 1696 Chikka Devarāya conquered the hill, and the territory that had been dominated by it, and gave his own name to the new fortifications which he built upon it. What were the extent of the earlier defences we have no means of knowing. Probably they were very extensive, perhaps as wide in their sweep as the later works of the Mysore king. Away down on the plain to the West of the main hill are extensive remains of defences and buildings, which local sages indicate as the site of the "palace" of olden days. There is every reason to believe that the fair-weather palace of the ruling power was here, rather than on the hill itself, to which it was easy to retreat in days of stormy war. The temple which stands in the village on the middle level of the defence was built at this period. A record of three years later is to the effect that some of the military leaders of Chikka Devarāya gave the priest of

the Droog temple lands to provide for the observance of the public worship and festivals of the god and goddess Lakshmi-Narasimha. Another copper-plate from the temple says that in 1713 the image of Lakshmi-Narasimha was set up at Nidjgal, the ancient "Suragiri", a few miles from Devarāya-droog by the side of the Bangalore-Tumkur line. "Tātāchārya" was then "archaka" of the Droog temple. It seems to the writer as if a real connection existed between the two temples of the same foundation, but the present incumbent at the Droog temple knows nothing of it. But this is not surprising, seeing that the ancient town about the fort of Nidjgal has passed away, leaving only a few pillars and one or two ruinous temples to indicate its site and former glory.

A few words on one incident in the history of Nidjgal is worth noting in passing. In 1770 it held the Mahrāttas up for three months, under their great leader, Mādhava Row. After the siege had begun Sirdar Khān was sent from Bangalore to enter the fort and to take command of the garrison of 3000 men. And right gallantly he held his command, until at last the fort was taken by the impetuous rush of the Bēdars of "Chittledroog" under their Pālegar. Infuriated at the long resistance, Mādhava Row ordered that the noses and ears of all the survivors should be cut off. Hyder had himself inflicted this penalty on Mahrātta plunderers, and the times thought such mutilation not unreasonable. When the gallant leader of the defence was brought forward and asked to show cause why he should not be disgraced with but rest, he replied that if his captor willed he might be mutilated like others, that the *disgrace* would be to the mutilator, though the pain and shame would be his. The spirited answer won the appreciation and clemency of the Mahrātta leader, and the gallant Sirdar Khān retained his nose and ears *in situ*.

At the time when the Mahrāttas moved on Nidjgal they seem to have left Devarāyadroog entirely alone, and the reason for this passing by is not apparent, unless they were anxious to push on rapidly toward Bangalore and the heart of the kingdom. Some months later, after they had circled and captured Nundydroog and Devanahalli, they returned and laid siege to Devarāyadroog and captured Tumkur also. It may be that the shot marks on the Penukonda gateway, on the West, were made at this period, also the shot marks on the gateway leading up the main hill itself. These last seem to have been made by a gun or guns planted on the hill to the South, which is well known still as "Pīrangi Betta". It was on this hill that the British detachment twenty years later found a long and handsome gun, of the type known as "Malabar" gun, and it is quite possible that it was left here by the Mahrāttas. The Mahrāttas held the Droog till 1772,

when it was returned to Hyder Ali, but they still retained for some time their hold on Dodballapur and Kolar.

It was about twenty years later, as already indicated, that a mixed force of British troops and Mahrāttas attempted the capture of the Droog. The British force was the famous Captain Little's detachment, which left Bombay in the middle of May, 1790, and joined "Purseram's" army of Mahrāttas, which was on its way to join Cornwallis for the capture of Seringapatam. The Detachment consisted of the 8th Native Infantry, 800 men, under Captain Little, and the 11th N. I., 800 men, under Captain Alexander M'Donald. A little force of Artillery under Captain Thompson was made up of one Company European and two Companies of Native Artillery, which worked six small six-pounder guns. The Mahrātta army wasted six months *en route* in the reduction of Darwar, a useless piece of enterprise. While the Detachment was on service here, the 9th N. I. also joined, and continued the march with the other two regiments. They marched *via* Hubli for Mysore territory, and joined Cornwallis on May 28th, 1791, when he had already turned from Seringapatam toward Bangalore for lack of transport and food for his troops.

Early in July this force arrived with the rest of the army in the neighbourhood of Bangalore, where the officers took the opportunity to lay in a stock of liquors, tea, etc., luxuries to which they had been long time strangers. The story from this point should be told in the words of Lieut. Moor, the historian of the Detachment, and later one of the wounded at Devarāyadroog. It may be pointed out that the British-born troops with this Detachment were very few indeed; and probably none but the British officers with the Indian troops, and the gunners who dragged a gun partly up the hill, were present at the attempted capture of the Droog.

"July 8th marched North towards Sera and Chittledroog. Soon after leaving the Grand Army we passed a very thick, rugged jungle, 4—5 miles in depth, and so full of ravines and covered with underwood that we had a very irksome march through it. Several of our tumbrils were overset, one of which could not be got out of the ravine into which it fell until the ammunition was unpacked. This jungle was called Nizgul Pass, from having a fort of that name near its Southern entrance.

"The army encamped among hills, on one of which was a fort called Dooridroog, in the enemy's hands, and of which the Bhow, expecting, it was said, that it would surrender without opposition, ordered a part of our detachment to take possession. Captain Riddell was accordingly sent on the 13th with the 9th battalion, and a grand division from the 8th and 11th, to possess himself of the fort. The party, after marching 3 or 4 miles,

entered a thick jungle, through which a narrow, rugged road continuing two miles brought them to the foot of the hill on which the fort was situated, whence for the last hour guns had been uselessly fired. A party of Mahrātta horse reached the foot of the hill before the party under Captain Riddell.

"The Grenadiers of the 9th, under Lieutenants Moor and Rae, and Lieutenant Harding, with a grand division of the 8th battalion, accompanied Captain Riddell up a very steep hill, or rather rock, very difficult of ascent, that might by a few men rolling stones down it have been defended; but no opposition was attempted, except from great guns which did no mischief. On ascending this hill, which is not fortified by art, it was found to be divided from the fort hill by a chasm in which the town was situated, extending a little way up the fortified hill, from whose summit the post whence it was reconnoitred may be about 800 yards in a direct line, although of course considerably more by the descending route through the Petta. (*Note.*—This hill was evidently Pīrangi Betta, but the distance to the main hill is very much more than 800 yards.)

"The fort was seen irregularly, from the unevenness of the ground, but apparently well built on the summit of the hill or rock, leading to which were counted 13 different gates, and as many walls built on the side, and at the bottom between the two hills, besides other fortifications scattered over every place favourable to ascent.

"This being ascertained, the party were ordered to enter the Petta (whose gates, three in number, included in the 13 were weak), through which it was necessary to pass, and it was expected if the enemy made any stand there, the party would, by following them closely after routing them, be able to carry gate after gate by entering with the fugitives. Unfortunately, however, the enemy evacuated the Petta on the approach of the sepoys; and no opposition was made, excepting from great guns, and a feeble fire of musketry, until the party passed six of the gates, some of which were strong and well built. Advancing to the seventh, the enemy, it was found, had in considerable numbers lined the wall, and shouting, beating drums, and blowing horns, as if to encourage the troops to defend it, gave the party a smart, but ill-directed and precipitate discharge of musketry, immediately on the appearance of the advance of the grenadiers, whereas had they reserved their fire until we came under the wall hardly a man could have escaped. As it was, Lieutenant Moor only, with a few of the leading grenadiers, was wounded. Most luckily, opposite the gateway, at the distance of about 30 yards, were two very large rocks, behind which our party was covered from the enemy's musketry. Reconnoitring minutely from behind these rocks, and finding the near appearance of the wall confirmed that it

exhibited in advancing to it, of being compact, well built, and having in no place a breach or derangement favourable to immediate assault, the idea of proceeding farther was necessarily relinquished, especially as the party had no implements of force to apply to the gate or of ascent to apply to the wall. It was therefore judged expedient to retire, which was done without material annoyance, the enemy attempting no sally on the party when retiring, so that no opportunity could be seized of entering the gate.

"Our loss was very trifling—we had none killed. Lieutenants Moor and Rae, of the 9th Grenadiers, and a few sepoys wounded; the latter officer near the shoulder, while reconnoitring behind the rocks, by which he has totally lost the use of his arm; the others near the shoulder also, but of no permanent ill-consequence.

"As, from the Bhow's expectation of non-resistance, no doolies had been sent with the party, the wounded people were badly off for conveyance, and a more awkward place for wounded men to crawl down than this hill can hardly be imagined; in ascending which it was necessary to go without shoes, or very cautiously, to prevent fatal slips. About five o' clock the parties reached the foot of the hill, and soon after dark some doolies arrived, which Mr. Cruso (the surgeon with the detachment) hearing so much firing, had sent. The town was plundered, as usual, by the Mahrattas. The enemy, we may suppose, lost very few or no men, as we fired but a few platoons to cover those reconnoitring and the retreat.

"The Bhow, it seems, was much exasperated at the garrison, and next morning Capt. Little with the remainder of the detachment, accompanied by large parties of the Mahratta infantry and cavalry, marched to the hill, and with great difficulty pulled one of our six-pounders up the first hill, but were unable to get the carriage up; and judging from the appearance of the fortifications and the disposition of the enemy that the pursuit was not likely to be successful, it was relinquished. Our loss was very trifling, and the Bhow's under twenty killed and wounded, and those chiefly while plundering and burning the Petta, which they did completely.

"On the top of the unfortified hill one of those unwieldy, enormous pieces of ordnance before called Malabar guns was found; it was ornamented with inscriptions and devices, and upon the whole the handsomest of this kind of guns that came under the observation of any in our detachment.

"After continuing two days in the neighbourhood of Dooridroog, the army continued its march Northerly toward Sera.",

Later in the campaign the officers of the detachment learned, when they reached Harihar, that some of the Mysore officers who had been entrusted with the care of the fort of Shimoga, and had been taken prisoners on its

fall, were imprisoned at Harihar and were "in distress for necessaries". The officers of the detachment not only made representations to the Mahrāttas for the better treatment of their prisoners, but also sent the prisoners two hundred rupees and some tea, etc., to relieve their distress. Some Urdu books, which they had brought from "Dooridroog" were also given to the prisoners to relieve the tedium of their durance.

"We enquired of them about Dooridroog, which fort they were acquainted with and said it was as strong a hill as any in Tippoo's dominions, and that we never should have taken it; we admitted to them that the Bhow's army would never have taken it, but after seeing the fall of Sāvandroog and other forts of that description there remains little doubt but that the grand army would have given a good account of Dooridroog also."

The Droog's fortifications are wide and well-planned, and there is no doubt that it had all the capacities of a first-class hill fortress. One bastion to the East was probably built in Tippoo's time; it overlooks the Dobbspet—Madgiri road, which runs along the valley. But the task of capture that lay before the army as it stood before the seventh gate, which leads immediately to the last defences, does not compare in difficulty with the work done by the grand army in the capture of Nundydroog and Sāvandroog.

The tower of the temple was repaired by Krishnarāja Wodeyar's queen in 1858, and at the same time the Maharaja himself repaired the Vimāna and a good set of the ten incarnations on the East wall. It is rather singular that the inscription recording this declares it done "as an offering to Siva".

One of the lower heights of the Droog was used during the early days of the Commission as a summer residence for General Dobbs, and the remains of his office and of other buildings are still to be found here and there on the slopes. In those days the forest around must have abounded with game, for General Dobbs in his autobiography speaks of the large numbers of "tygers" that frequented the neighbourhood. In one year no fewer than forty "tygers" were killed by him and his officers. Still the hill is used as a summer residence, and two large bungalows still crown the lower elevation, but the game has disappeared and the "tygers" too have gone for ever.

THE AGE OF THE BRAHMANAS.

By Mr. B. V. Kamesvara Ayyar, M.A., M.R.A.S.

PART II.—*Continued from last issue.*

The future tense in 'āvartsyan', 'yakshyamāṇāh' clearly evidences this point. If the year ends with amāvāsyā, it goes without saying that the last day of the last month of the year must also be the same amāvāsyā and the other months also should be amānta. Even leaving out all other evidence which the Kaushītaki furnishes for the amānta, the very passage where we have to construe the expression 'Māghasya amāvāsyā' shows that the amāvāsyā is the last day of the last month of the year, that with the Māgha amāvāsyā closing the year and the month, the next month (that is, the first month of the next year) could only be known as Phālguna, with the purṇimā falling on the fifteenth day.

If it is all so plain, it may be asked—how then is it that Vināyaka has construed this passage from the purṇimānta standpoint. I have not been able to get a copy of this commentary and cannot therefore say how he has reconciled his explanation here with the other passages of this Brāhmaṇa which clearly indicate the amānta and whether he has adduced reasons for putting a pûrṇimānta interpretation on this passage. But Ānartīya's bhāshya on the corresponding passage of Śānkh: Śr. s. throws some light on this.

Śankh: Śr. s. XIII—19 (3) runs:

तैषस्यामावास्यायाऽएकाह उपरिष्टात् दीक्षेरन् माघस्य वा (4) तेषां माघस्यामावास्यायामुपवसथः फाल्गुनस्य वा.

Ānartīya's bhāshya.

तैषः = षोषः। तस्य यामावास्या तां लोका मार्गशिरसोऽमावास्यामाहुः। कृष्णपक्षादिमासाङ्गीकरणेन सा तैषस्य भवति। ज्योतिषामवनेऽपि क्वचित् कृष्णपक्षादिमासाङ्गीकरणमस्ति। स्मृतिलिंगानि च विद्यन्ते। ... ... माघस्येति विकल्पः कृष्णपक्षादिमासाङ्गीकरणेनैव॥

Ānartīya here probably follows Vināyaka. It looks more like an apology than a valid reason for adopting the pûrṇimānta in this text. It simply amounts to this: 'People call Taisha-amāvāsyā as Mārgasiras-amāvāsyā. But when we accept the krishṇapākshādi, that is the pûrṇimānta, it is only Taisha-amāvāsyā. Even in astronomical science, pûrṇimānta is recognized in some places. There are also some texts in this Śākhā in favour of the pûrṇimānta.' Ānartīya does not explain why the pûrṇimānta should be preferred here to the amānta generally accepted in other parts of both the

Brāhmaṇa and the Śr : sutra of this Śākhā. Indian astronomy recognized, indeed, a pūrṇimānta ; but no evidence has been adduced to show that it was recognized earlier than the early centuries of the Christian era. Ānartīya adds that there is also the evidence of the Kaushītaki itself for the pūrṇimānta. It would have been better if he had pointed out the particular texts. If he meant the texts declaring Phalgunī-paurṇamāsi to be the month of the year, I have already tried to show that they cannot form any evidence for the pūrṇimānta or pūrṇimādi ; and I cannot think of any other texts in the Kaushītaki that would support a pūrṇimānta.

That the Śānkhāyana Śr.-sutra, which may be said to be the earliest commentary on the Kaushītaki, shows decisively that Māgha amāvāsyā is that which occurs fifteen days before the Phalgunī pūrṇimā, not the amāvāsyā that occurs before the Māghi full-moon will be seen from Śānkh. Śr. s. XV—13 :—

माघ्यामावास्ययाएकाह उपरिष्टात्दक्षिंत (7) अष्टम्यां सुत्यमहः (13) इष्टिभिः पक्षशेषं (14) फाल्गुन्यां प्रयुज्य चातुर्मास्यानि (15).

Here it is expressly stated that it is Phālgunī-pūrṇimā that occurs at the end of the paksha which begins on the day succeeding Māgha amāvāsyā ; and Ānartīya has to explain (and cannot but so explain) माघ्यामावास्या उपरिष्टादेकाहे as फाल्गुनस्य प्रथमाहे. When the expression Māghāmāvāsyā is clearly and unmistakably used in one part of this sutra as the one that falls *before* the Phalgunī-pūrṇimā, there will be no justification for understanding it otherwise in another part of the same sūtra where there is not the slightest indication that it is used in a different sense.

The reason which has induced Vināyaka and Ānartīya to assign a pūrṇimānta sense to the Kaushītaki passages (XIX—2 and 3) is perhaps, as in the case of Dr. Thibaut, the desire to reconcile these praśnas with the Vedānga Jyotisha, which states that the year ends with Pausha-amāvāsyā.* There is no need to consider that the Vedānga puts together the calendar elements which are to be found scattered in the several śākhās. That this treatise was composed several centuries after the period of the Brāhmaṇas is and must be admitted by all. Whether the calendar elements expounded in this treatise are those which were true for the time when it was written or true for the time of the Brāhmaṇas is a question to be decided only after a comparison of the several points on which they agree or differ. I shall endeavour to show in the sequel that there are several material points in which they differ and the Vedānga is, as is more reasonable, an attempt to

* *Cf.* माघशुक्लप्रकृतस्यपौषकृष्णसमाप्तिः । Ved. Jy.

adjust the calendar to the time of its composition. But to revert to the thread of my argument.

It will not be a justifiable procedure to detach the expression 'Māghasya amāvāsyā' in these two praśnas of the Kaushitaki (ignoring the clear indications of the amānta, which they themselves contain) from the other parts of the Brāhmaṇa which unambiguously imply the amānta and explain it without any reference to these other parts—not to speak of innumerable passages in the other śākhās which imply the amānta. A hypothesis for which there is ample evidence and which alone can consistently explain all the passages of a single work and which can also satisfactorily explain all other works of a similar nature must not, even as a mere hypothesis, be set aside in a particular context till unassailable reasons, not those that look like special pleading, are adduced to prove the inapplicability of the hypothesis.

From the foregoing enquiry, I am led to hold (1) that in the Brāhmaṇas Phālguna beginning with the Phālguna śukla-pratipad is the first month of the year, (2) that Phalgunī-pūrṇimā falls on the fifteenth day of this month, (3) that the first fourteen days of the month are allowed for the ṛitu-sandhi, (4) that though vasanta nominally begins with the śukla-pratipad that immediately succeeds Māgha-amāvāsyā, the full-moon of Phālguna, which occurs immediately after the close of the ṛitu-sandhi is the first parvan of the new-year and is the first day for commencing all deva-ceremonies.

Now there is a passage in the Śat: Br. which distinctly states that the ṛitus are divided into two sets, one being known as deva-ṛitus and the other as pitṛi-ṛitus, that vasanta, grishma and varshā are deva-ṛitus and śarad, hemanta and śiśira are pitṛi-ṛitus, that when the sun turns north, he is in the deva-ṛitus, that is, brings about the deva-ṛitus, and when he turns south, he is among the pitṛi-ṛitus * and that if one sets up the fires when the sun moves southward, he pleases only the pitṛis who are mortal.† It is this same distinction that is referred to in the passage of Taitt: Sam., familiar to all Brāhmans (V—IV—12—55.)

'षड्वा ऋतवः, ऋतवः खलुवै देवाः पितरः (ऋतवः), ऋतूनेवदेवान् पित्रून्प्रीणाति ॥

According to these texts, the deva-ṛitus occupy the period of the sun's northward course from the winter to the summer solstice and the pitṛi-ṛitus occupy the six months of the sun's southward course. This is the

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* वसन्तो ग्रीष्मो वर्षा, ते देवाऋतवः । शरद्धेमन्तशिशिराः, ते पितरः ... . स यत्र उदगावर्तते देवेषु (ऋतुषु) तर्हि भवति etc. Śat: Br.—II—1—3.

† The appropriateness of the names deva-ṛitus and pitṛi-ṛitus is seen from the circumstance that during the deva-ṛitus the sun goes north, in the direction of the devas and during the pitṛi-ṛitus, he goes south in the direction of the pitṛis.

conception about the uttarāyaṇa and the dakshiṇāyana that persists till to-day. But it may be asked that, while the rains commence about three weeks before the summer solstice, the Śat: Br. passage would have it that varshā ends with the summer solstice and this will conflict with the course of the seasons in India. This objection is mainly based on the notion that śarad is a dry season, beginning with the close of the rains. But the idea of śarad being a dry season after the close of the rains is one that crept in at a far later date than that of the Brāhmaṇas—one which was started by the arrangement of the seasons, as expounded in the Vedânga Jyotisha according to which śarad begins two months after the summer solstice. That this Vedānga scheme of seasons is not warranted by the Brāhmaṇas will be evident from the following considerations.

1. The Śatapatha says, as just shown, that the first season in the southward course of the sun is śarad. The Taitt: Sam.* says that when the sun with his rays returns downward (*i.e.*, to the south) it rains, rains as if hiding the heavens, the abode of the sun. Śarad is thus a period of heavy rains.

2. Taitt: Sam. VII—4—8 says that, if the satra dīkshā should be commenced on the full-moon of Phālgunī, the vishuvat rite would fall in sāmmegha—that is, at a time when the sun would be hidden behind the clouds and it would not be possible to behold the sun and celebrate the vaishuavatī rite in honour of the sun. This can be only if the vishuvat day should occur in a period of continuous rains. Now the Phālgunī-pūrṇimā is the first *parvan* of vasanta. Counting 6 months and 24 days from it,† we arrive at the middle part of Śarad, which the Vedic text characterises as 'Sammegha'.

3. Śat: Br. XIII—6-1 states that it is in Śarad that crops ripen and their sap is developed. This would be impossible without rains, though there might otherwise be plenty of water-supply. It is in accordance with this that Śat: Br. II—2-3 says that śarad is marked by lightning (and rain) and when the rains cease, hemanta‡ sets in.

4. Śat: Br. XIII—6-1 states that vasanta is the feet of the year, varshā and śarad form the waist and śiśira is the head. From this, it may be seen that the first season of the year is vasanta and the last is śiśira and

* यदास्तु वा आदित्योऽन्यरश्मिभिः पर्यावर्ततेऽथ वर्षति । धामच्छदिव खलु वै भूत्वा वर्षति. Śāyana overlooks the reference to the summer solstice here. Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara is not explicit.

† 12 days for dīkshā + 12 for upasads + 6 shaḍaha māsas. If the prāyaṇīya atirātra and chaturvimśa are counted separately, it will be 6 months and 26 days.

‡ Dr. Eggeling, the learned translator of the Śatapatha, is influenced by the post-vedic conception of Śarad and notes here: 'During the autumn or sultry season succeeding the rains, there are frequent displays of sheet-lightning along the horizon at night'. How about hemanta marking the close of the rains?

vārshā and śarad form the middle portion of the year. Varshā is on this side of the summer solstice and śarad on the other side.

5. The seasons are stated to be three, five, six or rarely seven, according to the requirements of the particular *arthavāda*. These statements are not, however, discrepant. Thus: Śat. Br. IV—4-17 says, 'Let him have three upasads; for there are three seasons in the year'. Śat. Br. XII—8-2-33 says there are three, grīshma, varshā and hemanta with reference to the three sacrificial cakes mentioned in the context. In the next sentence, it adds 'there are six seasons in the year—vasanta and grīshma represented by the two āśvina cups (of milk), varsha and śarad, by the two sārasvata cups, hemanta and śiśira by the two aindra cups.' Hemanta and śiśira are frequently put together and spoken of as a single season as Ait: Br. I—1 says; 'पंचर्तवः हेमन्तशिशिरयोः समासेन, तावान् वै संवत्सरः' 'The seasons are five, by putting together hemanta and śiśira. Thus much is the year.'* When seven seasons are mentioned (which is rarely) it is with reference to the occasionally intercalated thirteenth month,† treated as a separate season.

The basis of all these versions is the division of the year, reflected in the chāturmāsyas, into three primary seasons—the warm, the rainy and the cold—each divided into two sub-ṛitus, the warm comprising vasanta and grīshma, the rainy comprising varshā and śarad, the cold comprising hemanta and śiśira.‡ The features of each primary season became more prominent in the second sub-division. Sarad would be according to this the latter and more characteristic part of the rainy season and would justify the statement of the Taitt: Sam. that the period of sammegha (अतिवर्षणक्षमा—Sāy.) occurred in this secondary season.

Dr. Thibaut says, 'the Indian year broadly divides itself into three seasons—warm, rainy and cold.' But Prof. Jacobi points out, 'it would be difficult to say exactly when either the cold or the warm season begins in India. The rainy season is the only one in India, whose limits can be fixed more or less accurately.'

How far, we have now to see, does the Brāhmaṇa scheme of seasons fit in with the actual course of the seasons in the region of the Ganges from Delhi to Magadha, the scene of Brāhmaṇic activities. The Brāhmaṇic scheme cannot be more than a very rough approximation to the real course of the seasons. For these reasons: (1) The seasons in the Brāhmaṇas are

* That is to say, hemanta-śiśira closes the year. This would show that vasanta began the year. Sayana reads समानेन for समासेन.

† Called in the Kaushītaki 'त्रयोदश—अधिचरमास' or 'उपचर'.

‡ *Cf.* Kaush: Br. XIV—5 "तस्माद्द्वन्द्वं समस्ता ऋतवः ज्यूरेव्यायान्ति, ग्रीष्मोवर्षा हेमन्त इति".

represented by the *lunar* months, while the natural seasons are determined by the course of the *sun*. (2) The rains occupy scarcely more than three months,* while the Brāhmaṇa scheme allots four lunar months, presumably on considerations of symmetry. As observed by Dr. Thibaut, 'a division on the basis of three different seasons can never be quite accurate, because the rainy season occupies less than four months—strictly speaking, not much more than three months. If therefore the principle of four-monthly divisions is to be adhered—as it actually was—a compromise has to be arrived at, in so far as either some weeks previous to the beginning of rains or some weeks after the cessation of rains have to be comprised within the rainy season.'

The doctor concludes that 'if four months must go to the rainy season, they can only be June to September'. Now the S. W. monsoon which determines the course of rains in Northern India normally begins in the beginning of June. Risley in his Census Report (para 14) points out that the setting in of each monsoon is preceded by cyclonic storms, some of which penetrate far inland and give useful rain, so that if the S. W. monsoon sets in in the beginning of June, there will be showers in the latter part of May. It will therefore be not improper to say that, if four months have to be allotted to the rainy season, we may allow about six weeks *before* the summer solstice or the early part of the rainy season and about ten weeks after.†

Now let us see what the Brāhmaṇas say. Kaush : Br. I—3 says that Āshāḍha (amānta) is the first month of varshā. Phālguna (amānta) is thus the first month of vasanta and of the year when the sun starts north. Phālguna and Chaitra constitute vasanta; Vaiśākha and Jyeshtha are the grīshma months ; Āshāḍha and Śravaṇa are the first half or the beginning of the rains (varshā). Bhādrapada and Āśvayuja form śarad or the heavier part of the rains. This is the theoretical arrangement of the seasons according to the Kaushītaki. But if we allow a fortnight for the ṛitu-sandhi, as the Brāhmaṇas appear to recognize, the rains will commence about the middle of Āshādha, that is about four and a half months after the turning northward of the sun on Phālguna śukla-pratipad ; that is, about six weeks before the summer solstice. But to connect the commencement of the uttarāyaṇa with a *lunar* date like the Phālguna śukla-pratipad, which

* *Cf.* Ramayaṇa Kishk : Kaṇḍa XXVI cl. 13 etc.

पूर्वोयं वार्षिकोमासः श्रावणः सलिलागमः । प्रवृत्ताः सौम्यचत्वारोमासाः वार्षिकसंज्ञिकाः ।
नायमुद्योगसमयः प्रविशत्वं पुरी शुभाम् । कार्तिकेसमनुप्राप्ते त्वं रावणवधेयत ॥

Kartika, here the fourth month of the rainy season, is recommended for the expedition as the rains will have been practically over. This is of course, the later seasonal arrangement.

† In the West Coast, the S. W. monsoon begins in the third week of May—the middle of the solar month, Rishabha, which is accordingly known as *ṛiṣabhādi*.

will be constantly shifting backwards and forwards from the winter solstitial point can only be a conventional procedure; and the margin of a fortnight allowed by the Brāhmaṇas, will, in a way, compensate for the deficiency of the lunar ṛitus. As a convention, the Brāhmanic scheme of seasons beginning with amānta phālguna at the winter solstice may be considered a passable arrangement.

Anyhow the convention is there, as evidenced by the Kaushītaki which shows that Phālguna (amānta) was the first month of vasanta and the Śatapatha which states that vasanta commenced with the northward ascent of the sun. Nor can we be certain, at this distance of time, when the first rains fell or the last rains ceased at the time of the Brāhmaṇas. We have simply to accept the convention as it stands revealed in the Brāhmaṇas and see how far it tallies with the present meteorological conditions.

The Vedāṅga Jyotisha sets aside this Brāhmanic scheme. According to this treatise, the sun starts on his northward circuit on Māgha-śukla-pratipad and the first two months of the year—Māgha and Phālguna (amānta)— are said to constitute the season of śiśira; the varshā commences about the time of the summer solstice and śarad, beginning two months after, is therefore regarded as a dry season. This is equally defective as rains continue for about a fortnight after two months from the summer solstice. Another defect is that according to the Vedānga, summer (Grīshma) would commence a month after the vernal equinox, whereas April and May nearly corresponding to the two months from the vernal equinox are the hottest months of the year. As between the two schemes of seasons—the Vedānga and the Brāhmanic, there is hardly a correct choice; the defect in either scheme arises from the attempt to determine the course of the seasons with the help of lunar months. Even at the present day, when the forecast of the rains is based on scientific observations, it is not seldom falsified by the freaks of the monsoon currents.

That the Vedānga is really an attempt to modify the Brahmanic scheme to a later period will be seen from the fact that the former differs from the latter in certain essential respects. (1) In the Vedānga, the old year closes with Pausha amāvāsyā and the new year commences with Māgha śukla-pratipad on which day the sun starts north. In the Brāhmaṇas, the old year closes with Māgha amāvāsyā and the new year begins on Phālguna śukla-pratipad. In the scholarly review of my original paper, Dr. A. Macdonell writes: '.....The dating for the winter solstice [in the Kaushītaki Br.] corresponds exactly with that of the Jyotiṣa save to the extent that the Brāhmaṇa has the amāvāsyā of Māgha, the Jyotiṣa the śukla-pratipad, an infinitesimal distinction." I cannot understand this.

In both the Vedāṅga and the Brāhmaṇa, the sun starts north on Śukla pratipad—only it is the one after Pausha-amāvāsyā in the Vedāṅga and it is the one that succeeds Māgha amāvāsyā in the Brāhmaṇa. It is not one day's difference, as Dr. Macdonell appears to think. It is a whole month's (lunar) difference. Dr. Thibaut, by some ingenious manipulation, the authors of 'the Vedic Index' by the invention of an amādi month, and Vināyaka and Ānartīya by the more easily understandable employment of the pūrṇimānta have tried to show that the Māgha amāvāsyā of the Kaushītaki is identical with Pausha amāvāsyā of the Vedāṅga. I have tried to show, with what success it is for Vedic scholars to decide, that this identification is contradicted by the very passage of the Kaushītaki about the Māgha amāvāsyā, that it is in conflict not only with the entire tenor of this Brāhmaṇa but with all the evidence that Brāhmaṇic literature furnishes.

2. The first ṛitu of the year in the Vedāṅga is śiśira and vasanta commences only two months after the sun has gone on his northern journey. In the Brāhmaṇas, the first ṛitu of the year is vasanta. Somākara in his Bhāshya on the Vedāṅga has thus to explain this discrepancy.

'ननु यथेदं रूपं ऋतूनां वसन्तो जायत आद्यः ? तत्पूर्वाः श्रुतयदति । उच्यते । ब्राह्मणवर्णानां *क्रमानुष्ठानाभिधायकत्वेन प्रवृत्ताः'

That is to say, astronomically śiśira is the first season of the year; but the Vedas speak of vasanta as the first for ritual seasons. The Brāhmaṇas are the first of the varṇas and vasanta is, according to the Vedas, the season of the Brāhmaṇas.

According to Dr. Thibaut's theory, vasanta begins with Phālgunī full-moon, midway between the winter solstice and the vernal equinox. He does not make it quite clear whether the new year also begins on the same day. If this is his view, the importance that the Brāhmaṇas attach to the winter solstice would vanish and the year and the months would be pūrṇimādi. In this case, the disparity between the Vedāṅga and the Brāhmaṇas would become even wider.

3. In the Vedāṅga, the two equinoxes are recognized; they have not been noticed in the Brāhmaṇas. What is even more noteworthy is that the word *vishuvat*, which corresponded to the summer solstice in the Brāhmaṇas, is transferred to the equinoxes in the Vedāṅga. This would bespeak not only an advance of knowledge since the time of the Brāhmaṇas but also a studied change of nomenclature.

4. The nakshatra ecliptic of the Vedāṅga begins with the winter solstitial point with the sun at Śraviṣṭhā. In the Brāhmaṇas, there is no reference

* क्रमं is another reading for क्रम.

whatever to any connexion between the nākshatras and the winter solstice. The nakshatras of the ecliptic are divided into two sets, one those lying north from the east point and those lying to the south of the east and in this division, Kṛittikā stands first. Thus Śravishṭhā is the first nakshatra in the Vedānga, while Kṛittikā is the first in the Brāhmaṇas. Garga explains this disparity as due to Kṛittikā's ritual importance, though for that matter, Kṛittikā is rather avoided in the rituals.*

In the review of my original thesis, Dr. Macdonell writes :—'The discrepancies between the Jyotiṣa and the Brāhmaṇas are clearly overstated; the Kaushītaki is sufficient to show that in one reckoning the year began with the new-moon of Māgha and that the reckoning from spring was not exclusive but only one mode of reckoning.'

The essential points of a luni-solar calendar are (1) when the year begins, (2) whether the seasons ran from the beginning of the month or from the middle, (3) how the ṛitus are arranged, (4) whether the equinoxes are recognized or not, and (5) what is the position of the nakshatras in the ecliptic. In all these points, there is vital difference between the Vedānga and the Brāhmaṇas. How then the discrepancies are overstated I cannot say. The Kaushītaki does not state that in one reckoning the year began with the new-moon of Māgha, as the Doctor states. It says that the year began on the next day after māgha-amāvāsyā while the Vedānga says that the year began with the next day after Pausha amāvāsyā. There is at least the difference in nomenclature, even if it should be held that the attempt to prove their identity has succeeded. Dr. Macdonell appears to think that in the Brāhmaṇās the year was reckoned in two ways (1) beginning from the winter solstice (2) beginning from spring which fell forty-five days after the winter solstice. Even in this case, there would be a difference between the Brāhmaṇas and the Vedānga ; the Brāhmaṇas being assumed to begin the spring forty-five days after the winter solstice whereas the Vedānga begins it sixty days after.

Now to sum up. Dr. Thibaut holds that the Māgha amāvāsyā in the Kauṣhitaki refers to the one that falls fifteen days *before* Māgha full-moon and vasanta commenced with Phālgunī-Pūrṇimā forty-five days after. I have endeavoured to show that the Māgha amāvāsyā is the one that fell fifteen days *after* Māgha full-moon and vasanta 'nominally began with the northward ascent of the sun, but a fortnight was allowed for the ṛitu-sandhi and vasanta was held to commence with the Phalgunī-purṇimā. Dr. Thibaut has not noticed the other passages of the Kaushītaki, not to speak of several

* *Cf.* अश्विनक्षत्रमित्यपचायन्ति । गृहान् इदाहुको भवति । Taitt : Br. I—1—2—7.

other Vedic texts which would conflict with his interpretation. I have examined them all and tried to reconcile my interpretation with all such passages.

The coincidence of the winter solstice with Māgha amāvāsyā (amānta) would approximately correspond to the position of the nakshatra Māgha at the summer solstice. This would roughly correspond to the coincidence of the nakshatra Kṛittikā with the vernal equinox. Thus both the lines of enquiry, one based on the nakshatras of the ecliptic in the Brāhmaṇas and the other based on the Vedic texts about the months, ṛitus, and the year, would converge towards the same conclusion and point to 2300—2000 B.C. as marking the epoch of the Brāhmaṇas.

CONSTRUCTION OF FORTS.

By P. V. Jagadisa Ayyar, *Archæological Department, Madras.*

As is generally the case with all ancient buildings of every class, the main principles guiding the construction of forts are enunciated in the *Silpa Sāstras*—the MAYAMATA and the MĀNASĀRA—and before proceeding to furnish a detailed description of the actual buildings, a few cogent extracts from these architectural works may be given.

In this connection the Madras Epigraphical Department in their Annual Report for the year 1909-10, pages 107 and 108, say :—

> "It is stated (in the record from Macherla, Guntur district) that Visvakarma, the son of Brahman, was the progenitor of the architects and was the father-in-law of the Sun. This Visvakarman is stated to have converted the rays proceeding from the Sun, his son-in-law, into divine weapons such as the discus of Vishnu, etc. Some famous *Āchāryās* of Visvakarman family are enumerated and are represented to have been "experts in cutting lingas (of Siva), in preparing images, in understanding the proper place of the latter (in Indian Iconography), in building the four kinds of mansions (*prāsāda*) and their innumerable sub-divisions, in grasping the geometry (*Kshētra*) involved in the study of the *Vāstu* [Sāstra] (architecture) and in gracefully handling the implements of their profession". In the southern temples too, the term *Tachchāchāriyakkāni*, so often met with, means an endowment set apart, exclusively for the architects who were to look after the repairs in the temple. No. 188 of 1909 from Avanāsi in the Coimbatore district states that the duties of these architects consisted in ten kinds of repairs (*dasa-kriyai*) which are not, however, enumerated."

In Sanskrit Literature the fort is known by the name of *Durga*, which means "to protect from outside enemies, wild beasts, floods, fire, etc." The forts are classed under three varieties in accordance with the range or extent of the fortifications. One kind of fort encloses the king's palace only; the second encloses the king's palace as well as the temple of the God he worships. In the third variety, not only are the palace and the royal temple enclosed by the fortifications, but also the dwellings of the people of the town, with the streets and bazaars therein.

In the old works on town-planning, several varieties of forts are enumerated under the *sāstraic* names and described as follows :—

1. *Giri-durga* or mountain fort.
2. *Vana-durga* or forest fort.
3. *Jala-durga* or fort surrounded by a water-moat.
4. *Paṅka-durga* or fort surrounded by mud or moist land.
5. *Irina-durga* or fort built on sandy ground.
6. *Daivata-durga* or natural fort or cave fort.
7. *Misra-durga* or fort coming under one or two of the above varieties.

The above main headings are further sub-divided, and these sub-divisions may be enumerated as follows :—

1. *Giri-durga* in three sub-divisions—(1) at the foot of a hill, (2) in the middle of a hill, or (3) at the summit of a hill.

2. *Vana-durga*—(1) which is surrounded by a thick forest of trees, and (2) with forest and water around.

3. *Jala-durga* in three varieties. (1) One surrounded on all sides by an excavated moat full of water, (2) a fort with the water of a river or lake on one, two or three sides and no water on the fourth side, (3) a sea-fort on the sea-shore with the sea on one or all sides.

4. *Paṅka-durga* in one variety only, with deep mud around so that wild animals or other enemies cannot approach.

5. *Irina-durga* which has neither the protection of moats, forest or other exterior defences but depends on the strength, the height and thickness of its rampart walls.

6. *Daivata-durga* which commands a strong natural position such as in caves or among rocks and has little of artificial construction.

7. *Misra-durga* as above stated.

These various forts may be built in a square, rectangular, triangular, octagonal, circular, undulating or any other form suited to the site on which they are erected. Thus a regular form can be adopted on open ground devoid of natural obstacles, but in a hill the walls will have to follow the declivities or prominences of the ground.

The minimum number of walls in a perfect type of fort should be twelve. The outer or rampart walls should be especially high and thick, with a minimum height of 12 cubits or 18 feet and be built of stones or brick.

Grains, oils, salts or other foods, cloths, medicines, luxuries, metals, timbers, etc., have each of them a fixed place of storage in a fort.

Running from east to west there should be either twelve, ten, eight, six, or four main streets. Cross streets or lanes are determined not by even numbers but by convenience or necessity. If a Vishṇu temple is the

principal one it may be situated either in the centre of the fort-town, the west, north or east sides. In the case of its being Siva who is the presiding deity it may be central or north only.

If two entrances are required, they may be on the east and west, and north and south, or they may be on the four sides opposite the cardinal points.

In the interior planning of forts of sizes, each is known by separate names as follows :—

1. Dandaka-Durga.

In this form of fort there is only one main street containing a small landlord's or zemindar's residence and the houses of a few hundreds of people and all the conveniences necessary to them, such as wells, water-tanks, etc. This latter provision is usual to all kinds of forts, and so need not be repeated below.

2. Katakamukha.

From north to south there is one main street, and crossing it in the centre from east to west are three streets. The houses, or some of them are superior and two or three storeyed.

3. Vedibhadraka.

In this there are three cross roads from east to west and also three from north to south. At the corner where these six streets intersect there are large storeyed houses.

4. Bhadraka.

From north to south are four main streets and from east to west six. This and the succeeding forms of fort-town are known as *pattanam* or city forts. The three previous are forts pure and simple.

5. Bhadramukha.

Five streets from north to south and five from east to west with the king's palace in the centre and the temple on the west, or the palace in the west and the temple in the centre of the town.

6. Bhadrakalyana.

Six main streets crossed by six others and a large tank, with many houses of the inhabitants all enclosed by extensive rampart walls.

7. Mukhabhadra.

Seven main cross streets, a great temple with high gopurams, large and extensive bazaars for supplying the needs of many people.

8. Subhadra.

From north to south twelve streets, and from east to west eight, with the courts of the king and his ministers and other officers of state.

9. Vijaya or Jaya.

A fort with one, two, or three walled enclosures surrounded by ramparts; and fortified walls with a lofty building of the King's palace and quarters for a small regiment.

10. Nagara.

Many walled enclosures, with numerous streets having gateways or openings in the walls to connect the outer and inner streets. There are the royal courts, containing the king's palace, zenana, pleasure grounds, and gardens both for the king and the populace. Many rich men's houses there may be.

These ten varieties of forts and their enclosed towns are the chief kind used in town planning detailed in the ancient *Silpa sāstra*. The streets in the above ten varieties have houses on both sides and are known as *sarva vīdhi*. There are six other classes but they only differ on minor points and need not be detailed.

In the ten classes of forts there are many interesting buildings such as temples and their mandapas, the palace buildings, etc., of ornate architecture standing among trees, and all designed according to *sāstraic* principles and embellished with fine carving and sculpture.

An outline description of the various classes of buildings is given below.

Motif of Palace construction.

In a fort of whatever dimensions, a fourth or a third part is occupied by the palace. This palace may be situated in the east or west of the fort. The remainder of the space is occupied by the people. The entrance to the palace must be on the east or north, as a general rule, but we learn in some other *silpa* works that they may be on the four sides, facing the cardinal points. Not only should the town fort be surrounded by a moat, but the king's palace should be equally so protected. The palace entrances should each be surmounted by a gopuram and the main entrance by one of greater height. In the palace, may be gardens, tanks, residences of the high officers or ministers of state. They may all be placed in the positions found most suitable, but the Raja's deities, pleasure gardens and armoury buildings must be on the west. The interior of the palace may have two or three concentric enclosures, the king's palace and the greater buildings occupying the centre.

The coronation or durbar halls are of the greatest importance and should occupy a position in the front. They should be erected on lofty basements and their roofs should be shaped as a temple *vimāna* but of lesser height. These must be erected in brick only and not in stone masonry. This rule applies equally to all domestic buildings except temples where both stone and brick are used.

The Zenana or *antahpura* for the Queen must be separately built on the north or west of the main buildings.

To the right or left of the front portion are the stables for the elephants and horses.

The Raja's palace should have from three to seven storeys of an imposing and lofty height.

There are further details in the *sāstra* about many other parts of the palace, but those already given will be sufficient for our present purposes.

Motif of Temple construction.

According to the *sāstras* or Hindu mythology, the site of a temple must first be one suitable to the God to be worshipped. When this is ascertained and the site fixed, the kind of temple, for there are three, is then determined. Of these three, the first variety is a *Giri-dēvālaya* or hill temple, the second a *Nagara-dēvālaya* or town temple, and the third is an *Agrahāra-dēvālaya* or village temple.

The place where there are *sanyāsis* and *yogis* is called *Maṭha* or *Mutt* and *Brindāvanam* or *Āshrama*. The *Mutt* and *Āshrama* should be situated near the temple .

In a hill-temple of a main or superior deity a number of enclosures and gopurams are unnecessary, and single courtyard with one gopuram is considered sufficient.

The second or town temple must be enclosed in three, five or seven *prākārās* or *courtyards*, and several *gopuras* with a beautiful *vimāna* having *kalasas* over the *sanctum*.

In the third or village temple, one *prākāra* with a one to three storeyed *gōpura* and a small shrine *vimāna* is what is most suitable.

In all these classes of temples, when there is a tank, it may either be inside or outside the precincts of the temple.

Wells, store-rooms, kitchens and other buildings necessary for temple usage, must all be inside the enclosing walls.

The 16-pillared *maṇḍapam* or hall, the *abishēka* or bathing hall of the image, the *ardha*-maṇḍapa or hall between the sanctum and front mahā-*maṇḍapam*, and outside these near the *gōpuram* the *bali-piṭham* and *dvaja-stambha* or flag staff are all necessary in a perfect temple.

In a Vishnu temple, the image of *Garuḍa* must appear on the *vimāna*, the court walls, *gōpurams* and other places. While in the temple of Siva, this image is replaced by that of the *Nandi* or bull. In the case of a temple of Subrahmanya a *barhi*, or *mayil* (peacock) is the distinguishing figure. In this way, the temples of the other superior and minor gods are distinguished

by the various *vāhanas* or vehicles of the gods and the emblems peculiar to them.

It is the ancient Hindu belief that there must be festivals at certain times or periods monthly, six-monthly, yearly, on the birthday of the God, the king and the *gurus*, and on other auspicious days and times.

The *silpa sāstra* gives very clear and detailed rules for the making of the various images and their vehicles, including the great cars, the ornaments including the jewels of the processional images, the correct measurement or dimensions of various *maṇḍapas*, with their high basements and pedestals. Rules fixing the proportions of all parts of a temple are enunciated in detail, but these need not be gone into for the present.

Some particulars may now be given relating to *theatres, courts and dwelling-houses* of various designs.

Rangasala or Theatres.

There are two varieties, the *dēvaraṅga* and *manusharaṅga*. The first was a hall for dancing before the images, but at the present time such is not in vogue. This is also supported by lithic records; for, the following remarks are recorded in the *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, part III, pages 263 and 378 :—

> 'The acting of dramas in temples is mentioned in a Tanjore Inscription of the time of Rājarāja I. The present record (No 199 of 1907 on the north wall of the central shrine in the Mahāliṅgasvāmi temple at Tiruviḍaimaruthūr, Tanjore district), contains though incidentally, an earlier reference to dramatic performances by introducing the term *nātakasāla*. Another record (No. 154 of 1895 on the same wall) provides for the drama called *āriyakkūttu* which must have been a regular dramatic performance in which dancing and singing were evidently given a prominent place. *Śākkaikūttu* which is referred to in some other inscriptions of the time of Rājēndra-chōla was evidently another variety of a dramatic dance'.

The second variety is the only kind which is in use at present and it should be situated in about the centre of the town or in the precincts of the palace. There are only two compartments in the main building, the stage and audience hall. In front of the stage, there should be a lofty 56-pillared hall for the audience. In front of the latter, may be a porch, and a vèrandah can surround the whole building. On the cornice of the walls above the pillars, there should be scenic representations, either carved or painted, of divine musicians, dancers, *gandharvas, yakshas, vidhyādaras, apsaras*, or divine dancing girls. The protecting deities of theatres are Brahma, Vishnu, Siva and Ganesa, Lakshmi and Saraswati, and they may be represented

therein. The front of the stage may be screened by a curtain, or by double doors like a temple. The stage should be raised on a height of four feet and its length or breadth should be fixed suitably. Before the play begins, the actors perform worship with clasped hands, with offerings of flowers and rice, and beautiful songs to the protecting deities. A theatre in a palace should be like the latter in the beauty of its decorations.

Nyaya Sala or The Court of Justice.

In the *Mahābhārata* and other ancient epics, rules are given for the constructions of village courts, the *grama-sabhā* or *pañchāyet*, and the larger courts in towns and large cities. For the design, dimensions, accommodation and construction of these buildings, directions are given in the *silpa sāstra* but these books are not now looked into.

Superior Dwelling-houses or Mansions.

In the *Visvakarma "Silpa Sāstra"*, there are 45 varieties of houses described in 5 groups of 9 each. These groups are named (1) *Vairāja*, (2) *Pushyaka*, (3) *Kailāsa*, (4) *Mālyaka*, (5) *Trivishtapa*. In the first of the groups, the houses are seven-storeyed. The main entrance is on the east. The front portico has three arcades, of equal width separated by 4 piers. In the interior there are 4 main halls for conducting weddings or festivities. A second type has the porch divided into three arcades, the central one of which is broader than the other two. This class of building has such a porch on each of the four faces. The porch has small domes surmounting the cornice over each of the piers. This class is named *Mandara*. The third type is of the rest-house' kind and has one porch with only one door or opening through it. The house may have a dome over the central hall. The plan of the building is rectangular. The fourth has the entrance on the north side and has pillared halls on the right and left sides with a wedding hall in the centre, and the kitchens and lesser rooms in the rear. The whole should have a sloping roof. The fifth has entrances on four sides. The porch has 4 *stambhas* or piers and raised benches in the visitors' room. The bed-rooms, store-rooms, etc., are duly arranged in plan. The sixth variety has an arched porch on four sides. The main building has a pillared-hall of one to three storeys. Around the four sides is a veranda. The seventh has a porch on two opposite sides, such as the east and west, or north and south, and the main building may extend to 7 storeys in height. There are three rooms on each of the four faces. Over the four corners of the roof are small domes or pediments. The eighth has three rooms on each of the four faces, and the central one of each projects in front. It may be one to five storeys in height. The ninth or last type

of mansion has a small tank and porch in front which may be on the north or south and may be one to five storeyed. These are nine outlines of the types of high class houses or mansions.

The remaining 36 need not be described, as they are but varieties of the above, suited to their size and to the social and other circumstances of the owners or occupiers.

BHASA'S PRATIMANATAKAM.

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ACT III.

(Then enter Sudhākara) (1)

Sudhākara—(Having done sweeping and the like). Well, whatever had been ordered by the worthy Sambhavaka I have now done. I shall, then, sleep a while. (Sleep.)

(Entering)

Soldier—(Approaching the servant and striking him) Fie, thou son of a bastard! How, now, dost thou desist from work? (Beats him.)

Sudhākara—(waking up) Beat me, beat me.

Soldier—And what wilt thou do, if beaten?

Sudhākara—My unfortunate self has not a thousand arms like *Kārthavīrya*.

Soldier—And what wilt thou with thy thousand arms?

Sudhākara—I will kill thee.

Soldier—Come on, slave. I shall release thee when thou art dead. (Beats him again.)

Sudhākara—(crying) You can, O lord. May I know my crime? (2)

Soldier—No crime, no crime, is it? Have you not been told by me that the whole harem, headed by Queen Kausalya is coming to visit the *Statue-House* of His Majesty King Daśaratha, who has gone to heaven on account of the sorrow caused by Prince Rama's exile from the kingdom? And what have you done here?

Sudhākara—See, my lord, the *Statue-House* has been cleared of its dovecots. Its walls have been whitewashed and adorned with the finger prints of sandal. The doorways have been hung up with wreaths and garlands. And sand has been spread. What is it that has not been done by me? (3)

Soldier—If so, then in good faith go. I shall hence now and inform the ministers that everything is ready.

(Exeunt all)

Pravēśaka. (4)

(Then enter Bharatha and his Charioteer with the chariot.) (5)

Bharatha—(Anxiously) Charioteer, long has been my sojourn in my uncle's court and hence I know nothing of the events (there). I have been

definitely told that His Majesty is not well. Tell me, therefore, ' What is my father's disease ? '

Charioteer—' Indeed great mental anguish. '

Bharatha—' What say the physicians ? '

Charioteer—' Physicians, however, are not clever at it.'

Bharatha—' What does he take and where lies he ? '

Charioteer—' On the floor, without taking food.'

Bharatha—' Is there any hope ? ' (6)

Charioteer—' God.'

Bharatha—' My heart is throbbing (7) ; drive the chariot.'

Charioteer—As my noble prince orders. (Drives the chariot.)

Bharatha—(Observing the speed of the chariot) Really wonderful is the speed of the chariot !

' These, the trees, seem to run, the river seems to be in flood, and the earth seems to fall into the felloes, because of the indistinct vision caused by the quick motion of the chariot. The spokes cannot be distinguished, and motionless seems the wheel on account of speed ; and the dust raised by the horses falls before but does not follow (8).'

Charioteer—Noble Prince, from the luxuriant growth of trees, Ayodhya must be near by. (9)

Bharatha—Ah, the eager haste of my mind longing for the sight of my people.

' Now, indeed, do I seem to bow down my head at the feet of my father and to be raised up by the loving king ; to be eagerly welcomed by my brothers ; to be drenched in tears by my mothers ; to be acclaimed by the courtiers thus—' How like unto him ! How great, yet, how modest ! ' ; and to be ridiculed by Lakṣmana for my dress and my speech.' (10)

Charioteer—(To himself). Alas, what a pity ! Knowing not the death of the king, the prince is proceeding to Ayodhya cherishing vain hopes. I know ; but I cannot inform him. For,

'The death of his father, the greed of his mother, and the exile of his eldest brother, of this triad of evils, who can inform ?' (11)

(Entering)

Soldier—May you live long, O Prince !

Bharatha—Well. Is Satrughna come to receive me ? (12)

Soldier—The Prince, indeed, is waiting near by. The Preceptor, however, informs you thus :

Bharatha—What's it, what's it ?

Soldier—The Kṛittika influence runs for twenty-four minutes more. The Prince will, therefore, enter Ayodhya only after Rohiṇî has begun. (13)

Bharatha—Very well, so shall it be. I have never yet transgressed the words of the preceptors. Thou mayst go.

Soldier—As my Prince orders. (Exit.)

Bharatha—Where, now, shall we take rest ? (14) Well, I see. We shall rest for a while in the temple that is visible amidst the trees. Thus, both rest and worship can be had. Further, good manners require that cities are entered, only after having rested near it for a while. Therefore, stop the chariot.

Charioteer—As my noble Prince orders. (Stop the chariot.)

Bharatha—(Getting down from the chariot) Charioteer, rest the horses in a quiet place.

Charioteer—As my noble Prince orders. (Exit.)

Bharatha—(Going some distance and observing) The sacred precincts are profusely scattered over with flowers and fried rice. The walls have finger prints in sandal. The doorways are hung up with wreaths and garlands. And sands are spread. Can it be the full moon celebrations, or but the daily theistic festivities ? Of what deity can this be the shrine.' The external symbols of weapons or the flags also are not seen, well, I shall go in and see. (Entering and looking) Ah, what exquisite workmanship of the stones ! Ah, what expressiveness of features ! Though representing Gods, these idols remind one of human beings. Can it, indeed, be the cluster of four deities ? Or, why, let them be anything ; but still I am glad at heart. (15)

'Since it is an idol, it is proper to bow down my head ; but it is rather a vulgar obeisance to offer it unto a god without *Manthras*.' (16).

(Entering)

Dēvakulika—(17) Ah ! When after my daily work I am looking to my physical needs, who is it come to the *Statue House*, who looks but little different from the *Statues* ? Well, I will in and see. (Entering)

Bharatha—I bow down.

Dēvakulika—Don't, indeed, don't make obeisance.

Bharatha—Why, ho !, no ?

'Is there anything to be spoken to me ; is any holy man to be awaited, or art thou to lead me ? Why this prohibition ?' (18)

Dēvakulika—Not, indeed, for these reasons, am I prohibiting you, sir ; but only to prevent a Brahmin's making obeisance mistaking these for Gods (19). These are Kṣatriyas.

Bharatha—Is it so ? These are Kṣatriyas ! What may the names of these worthies be ?

Dēvakulika—They are *Ikṣvāku Princes*. (20)

Bharatha—(gladly) Sayest thou Ikṣvaku Princes? These are those Lords of Ayodhya!

'These are those who have gone in the very front of the Devas in their destruction of the Asura strongholds! These are those who have on account of their good deeds proceeded to the abode of Indra, followed by their citizens and people! These are those who have acquired the whole earth which has been conquered by the valour of their arms! These are those whose career could not be finished for a long time even by Death, the Free Hunter!' (21).

Ah, accidently have I attained a great object. Tell me who this worthy sire is.

Dēvakulika—This is Dilīpa, the Light ablaze of Dharma, and the performer of the *Visvajita* sacrifice, for which the requisites got together were the best of its kind.

Bharatha—My obeisance to him who was always devoted to Dharma. Tell me who this is.

Dēvakulika—He is, indeed, Raghu who used to be purified both at rising and retiring by the consecrated chants of thousands of Brahmins.

Bharatha—Alas, powerful indeed is Death, since it overcomes even such defence. My obeisance to him who gave unto the Brahmins all the fruits of his kingdom. Tell me who this is.

Dēvakulika—This is Aja who gave up his kingdom on account of the sorrow caused by the loss of his beloved spouse and whose *Rajas* was being daily washed away by his *Avabhṛtasnanam*.

Bharatha—My obeisance to him whose sorrow was so praiseworthy. (Seeing the *Statue* of Dasaratha and becoming confused) (22). My mind, being overcome with great reverence has not quite grasped it. Tell me who this is.

Dēvakulika—This is Dilipa.

Bharatha—The great grand-father of His Majesty. The next?

Dēvakulika—The worthy sire, Raghu.

Bharatha—The grand-father of His Majesty. The next?

Dēvakulika—The worthy sire, Aja.

Bharatha—Father's father (23). What, what—

Dēvakulika—This is Dilipa, this is Raghu, this is Aja.

Bharatha—Let me ask you something: are the statues of living kings also put up? (24).

Dēvakulika—No, indeed; only of the dead.

Bharatha—Well, let me take leave.

Dēvakulika—Wait.

'Why dost thou not inquire of this *Statue* of Dasaratha, by whom both his kingdom and his life were given up as the dowry?

Bharatha—Ah, father! (Fall into a swoon. Reviving a little) 'Be calm, O my heart. Know thy father is dead, he for whom you have been anxious, and now be brave. If that vile term, *Sulka* has reference to me, then must my body be really purified.' (25)

Ah Sire!

Dēvakulika—(Aside) What, Sire? This looks like the wail of the scion of the Ikṣvaku race (26). (Aloud) Sire, art thou Bharatha, the son of Kaikeyi?

Bharatha—Well, yes. I am Bharatha, the son of Dasaratha; but not of Kaikeyi.

Dēvakulika—Then I wish to take leave.

Bharatha—Wait. Speak out the rest.

Dēvakulika—(Aside) I have no other go. (Aloud) (27) Listen, thy worthy Sire, Dasaratha, is dead. I do not know why Rama has gone to the forest accompanied by Sita and Lakṣmana.

Bharatha—What, what, also my brother gone to the forest? (Falls into a deep swoon)

Dēvakulika—Revive, O Prince, revive.

Bharatha—(Reviving)

'Hurrying to Ayodhya, now a wilderness being abandoned both by my father and brother, am I now like a thirsty man after a river emptied of its waters. (28)

Sir, let me hear the details and thus steady my mind. Tell me, therefore, the whole story, keeping back nothing.

Dēvakulika—Listen, when His Majesty was crowning the worthy Rama, your mother said:

Bharatha—Stop.

"Recollecting that accursed dowry, my father was addressed, 'Let my son be king'; convinced of faith in my brother, he was addressed, 'Child, dear go thou to the forest.' Seeing him thus clad in the bark of trees, the king came to an unnatural end. And, fie! the natural shower of abuse is by the subjects turned on me" (29). (Falls into a swoon).

(In the postscenium)

Make way, Sir, make way!

Dēvakulika—(Observing) Ah! 'In time have the queens come when their son has swooned away. The touch of the mother's hand, though without water, acts like a handful of water.'

(Then enter Sumantra and the Queens).

Sumantra—This way, ladies, this way.

'This is, indeed, that *Statue-House* of our king, which in height surpasses even palaces; here unushered by porters and unimpeded the travellers pay their homage without even a bow.' (30)

(Entering and observing) Don't, ladies, don't enter.

'Here lies fallen a certain youth, resembling our king.'

Dëvakulika—'Enough of mistaking him for a stranger, welcome him; he is Bharatha.' (Exit)

Queens—(Quickly approaching) Ah! dear son, Bharatha!

Bharatha—(Reviving a little)—Sir. (31)

Sumantra—Long live Your Ma—(Having thus said half, sadly) Ah, the resemblance of Voice! I thought the king's *Statue* was speaking.

Bharatha—What now is the state of the mothers?

Queens—Child, this is our state (Remove the Veil).

Sumantra—Ladies, suppress your sorrow.

Bharatha—(Observing Sumantra) Such good manners tell me. Sire, are you not Sumantra? (32)

Sumantra—Prince, yes. I am Sumantra.

'Followed by the miseries of a long life, and preyed upon by thoughts of ingratitude, have I, since the king's demise, been existing, the Charioteer of an empty chariot!

Bharatha—Alas, Sire! (Rising up) I wish to be told the order in which I should pay my respects to the mothers.

Sumantra—Well. This is Queen Kausalya, the mother of the noble Rama.

Bharatha—Mother, I who am innocent offer you my obeisance.

Kausalya—Dear child, be thou free of sorrows. (33)

Bharatha—(Aside) Rather a taunt. (Aloud) I am blessed. Then, then?

Sumantra—This is Queen Sumitra, the mother of the noble Lakşmana.

Bharatha—Mother, I who am left far behind by Lakşmana, offer you my obeisance. (34)

Sumitra—Dear child, be thou famous.

Bharatha—Mother, I shall try. I am blessed. Then, then?

Sumantra—This is your mother. (35)

Bharatha—(Angrily) (36) Ah! Accursed!

'Standing between these, my mother and mother, thou dost not shine, like the dirty river rushing in between the Ganges and the Jumna.'

Kaikeyi—Dear child, what have I done?

Bharatha—Ask you what you have done?

'You have driven us to infamy; my noble brother to the bark-garment; the King to the abode of Death; the whole Ayodhya to incessant weeping;

Lakṣmana to the beasts; mothers with their sons and daughters to sorrow, the daughter-in-law to the fatigues of a journey; and yourself to the bitterest scorn.' (37)

Kausalya—Child, why don't you, the prince of manners, honour your mother? (38)

Bharatha—Mother, do you say? Mother, you are my mother. Mother; I offer you my obeisance.

Kausalya—No, no. This is your mother.

Bharatha—Was formerly; but not now. See madame.

'On account of evils ingrained in nature, love is forfeited and children are made non-children. This Dharma shall I first establish in the world that a mother forfeits the mother's claim by her cruelty to husband.' (39)

Kaikeyi—Child, I have said thus that His Majesty may keep his word.

Bharatha—What's it, what's it?

Kaikeyi—That my son should become king.

Bharatha—And in what relation does that Sire stand towards you?

'Is he not the son of my father? Is he not the next in succession? Are not the brothers loving one another? And do not the people like it? (40)

Kaikeyi—Ask those who are greedy of the dowry. (41)

Bharatha—'Deprived of the kingdom by the bark-garments he has been ordered by you to walk out to the forest accompanied by his wife. Is this also stipulated in the dowry?' (42)

Kaikeyi—Child, at proper time and place shall I inform you.

Bharatha—'If thou lovest infamy, why mention us; if the pleasures of royalty, will not the king give them? If, however, thou lovest the title '*King's mother*', speak out truly, if my brother also is not thy son. Regrettable has been thy action.

'Covetous of the kingdom, you cared not for the life of the King and you sent out the eldest son, saying, 'Go thou to the forest.' Your heart, O lady, must, alas, have been created by the Creator as hard as a diamond in that it did not burst even on seeing the daughter of *Janaka* clad in bark-garments. (43)

Sumantra—Prince, here are Vasiṣta and Vāmadēva come to welcome you with Coronation and send you this message. (44)

As the unprotected herd of cattle goes to ruin, when devoid of their protector, so the subjects, devoid of a ruler, go to ruin.'

Bharatha—Let the subjects follow me.

Sumantra—Where dost thou go, abandoning Coronation?

Bharatha—What, Coronation? Give it unto her ladyship here. (45)

Sumantra—Where goest thou?

Bharatha—There go I where lives the friend of Laksmana. Without him, Ayodhya is not Ayodhya. That is Ayodhya where is Raghava.

(All Exeunt.)

NOTES.

The Third Act is very important, probably more important than any other in the whole drama, because of the reference to the *statues*; but this historic reference and the consequential importance attached to it must not be allowed to so completely engross our attention, as to make us blind to the dramatic beauties. We shall, therefore, first consider the dramatic aspect.

From the point of view of dramatic technique, this Act forms the pivot of the whole drama. With the death of Dasaratha the *complication* has reached its last limit. But when Bharatha rejects the Kingdom, we have the most serious of the complications resolved. Here begins the *Resolution*. And it is as much on account of this, as on account of the unique dramatic contrivance utilized here that the drama has been named after the chief incident of this Act. It is called the *Pratima-Nātaka*, or the *Statue-Drama*, because of the important part played by the *Statues*.

The *character* and the *passion* interest are also of a very high order, indeed powerful enough to arrest our attention and compel our admiration. Here is presented to us the princely Bharatha who, as the drama hath it, has been from his boyhood brought up at the court of his maternal uncle and is hence almost a foreigner to Ayodhya, the prince in whose name have been given birth to the series of tragic circumstances. The noble prince, the embodiment of all the best traditions of his family, smarting under the manifold injuries, all the result of the mischief wrought by his *own* mother, and revealing the sublime nobility of his character as the scene unfolds itself, centres in himself the chief character interest. The unhappy queen, the sorrowful Kaikeyi, repenting her *unguarded* words, is scarcely less interesting, as she stands humbled and humiliated by her righteously indignant son. The various passions of longing and sorrow, anger and indignation, fear and hatred, coursing through the veins of one and all and clashing each with each and finally resolving into sublime pathos, afford the greatest passion interest. Thus from the dramatic point of view, this Act is very interesting.

1. Sudhākara—This does not seem to be a proper name; but is the name of a class of people whose professional work is white-washing.

2. The sentence may be interpreted to mean thus: 'Can I know, O Lord, what my fault is?'

3. Note the preparations. The white-washing the walls, adorning the doorways with wreaths and garlands, spreading the paths with white sand and scattering flowers, these have much in common with the preparations generally made in Kerala on the occasion of some distinguished visit.

4. From this conversation it seems clear that the *Statue-House* has long been unkept. Note the hurried, P. C. R. works have quite a modern look. It is interesting to inquire why it has not been kept properly. Are we to suppose that it has not been put in order even at the time of putting up the *statue* of Dasaratha? If so, then it reveals a state of affairs not very creditable to the state; but probably everybody was too much engrossed to pay much attention to minor details.

Or, it is being made neat after putting up the statue of Dasaratha, to which special attention is being paid as the queens intend to pay a visit to it? But this supposition does not seem to be quite sound, since *Sudhākara* is engaged in clearing the dovecots also.

Or, many days have elapsed since the putting up of the King's statue and now that the queens are paying a visit, it is re-washed and cleaned and adorned. This would mean that Bharatha turns up many days after the death of Dasaratha. This view is borne out by the fact that since the death of Dasaratha many days have elapsed, enough indeed to prepare a statue. Note secondly, the business-like, aggressive tone and attitude of the superior officer. These seem to have got over the first shock of sorrow consequent upon the tragic course of events and the City has calmed down to a state of normal quiet. Thirdly, the queens are now coming out of the harem. This shows that the ceremonies connected with the death of the King are all over, which, in the absence of his elder brothers, Satrughna must have performed.

This scene forms a happy interlude between the piteous tears and tragic death delineated in the Second Act and the manly indignation and noble resolve of Bharatha depicted in this Act.

5. Bharatha himself opens the main scene. He says he has for a long time been residing with his uncle and hence feels a stranger to Ayodhya. The news that his father has become incapacitated lies heavy upon him. He anticipates more or less the worst and so to ease his mind he once more questions the *Sūta* of the King's state. In the conversation following he evinces all the fond solicitude of an affectionate son. If Rama has given us the ideal of a dutiful son, Bharatha impresses us with the ideal of an affectionate son.

6. The sentence may be interpreted to mean this: 'What can be his desire?' That is, what is he longing for? And the answer, 'God', means God alone knows it'.

7. The *throbbing* of the heart is supposed to indicate a coming calamity, the shadow of the coming event. This, therefore, steeps Bharatha in greater misery. Note the latter half of the verse depicts the true state of the King, *i.e.*, the dead King. But Bharatha has no eyes and ears for it.

The picture that the charioteer draws of the state of *Dasaratha* is a master-piece. It is so brief, yet so touching, and no wonder that Bharatha becomes steeped in misery. He is in eager haste to reach Ayodhya and hence the direction to the driver to quicken the speed. The latter realizes how much the news has upset him and he has his own mind heavy with the terrible secret. He is afraid that he may unconsciously divulge it in an unguarded moment. Hence to divert his attention, he busies himself with his own work, and goads the horses to their highest speed. The driver has been so successful that the speed of the chariot arrests the attention of Bharatha and brings about a change in the sad current of his thoughts.

8. Here is a beautiful description of the flying chariot, as beautiful as that of Kalidasa, and the poet evinces his keen powers of observation.

The verse is capable of being interpreted in a different way. The phrase, 'because of the indistinct vision caused by the speed of the chariot,' may also be taken as an adjectival phrase qualifying *trees*. Some take the second quarter of the verse by itself, and then it may be rendered thus: 'Like a flooded river, the earth seems to fall into the felloes.' The addition of the simile does add to the beauty of the statement, and so we prefer our own interpretation, the more so because in that case we have one more picture introduced. The river seems to be flooded because of the indistinct vision caused by the speed.

9. The relief thus introduced is not to last for long; for Ayodhya soon comes into view, and Bharatha once more loses himself in unpleasant thoughts.

10. With the immediate prospect of seeing his beloved parents and brothers, it is not so much sorrow as anxious longing. Bharatha is here expressing himself quite in the spirit of boy who is the beloved of all in the family. Note the relation between Lakṣmana and Bharatha. They seem to have been the chums amongst the brothers and hence is Bharatha afraid of being mocked at by Lakṣmana for his queer dress and speech. The former of these must have been quite peculiar for the keeper of the Statue-House mistakes him for a Brahmin (*cf.* notes following). Note the expression, *Bhāṣa*. What does Bhāṣa mean by it? Are we to understand by it the spoken language or only the accent and intonation? If it means the former, then we have to assume that Sanskrit was not a spoken language at that time, since it cannot admit of variations. And so it must refer to *Prākrit* which has to be accepted as the then spoken language, for this admits of variations.

If, however, it refers to only accent and intonation, then there is no difficulty to assume that Sanskrit was the spoken language. This latter is the view we accept.

This also suggests what Bharatha is destined to find at Ayodhya. His falling at the feet of his sire, his being bathed in the tears of his mothers,—but not of joy, as he expected,—his being praised by his officers, these are anticipated as if it were.

11. The poor charioteer feels repugnant for the deception he is practising on Bharatha and is overwhelmed with compunction. In this brief soliloquy he seems to justify himself. None can pick up the boldness necessary to announce any one of the three sorrows; much less therefore all the three.

Bharatha would still have continued to allow his 'fancy to weave a charm for his relief' but the entry of the soldier prevents it.

12. Bharatha inquires if Satrughna is come to welcome him. He makes this inquiry not because he is specially disposed towards him, but because he is younger to him. As Bhāsa has it, Lakṣmana is the second brother, Bharatha the third and Satrughna the youngest. It is to be noted that it is the duty of the younger brother to receive the elder brother. This must not therefore be taken as showing any partiality for him, the more so because it has already been shown that the little partiality he has is for Lakṣmana.

Unlike in Valmiki, Bhāsa keeps Satrughna at Ayodhya. The variations between Bhāsa and Valmiki are so many and so vital that we shall take up the subject for consideration when we have come to the end of the drama. As regards Satrughna, he has been left at Ayodhya, and he must have performed the ceremonies in connection with the death of the King. It is also worthy of note that neither Bharatha nor Rama performs these ceremonies. Have we here a suggestion that one of the brothers only need perform the obsequies of the father?

13. Here is an instance of a popular belief that it is not considered auspicious for a prince to enter his capital during the *Krttika* influence. Hence the injunction to stop outside the city till the influence of Rohini begins. Note how Bharatha subordinates his anxious solicitude for his father and the eager haste to meet his beloved people to obedience and good manners.

From this statement it is clear that Bharatha arrives at Ayodhya on the *Krttika* day. According to Valmiki the coronation of Rama was to have taken place on the Puṣya day. Rama started to the forest on the same day. It is more or less a day and half's journey from Ayodhya to

Śṛngivērapura. Hence the next act must have taken place on the third day. The minimum period required between the first and the third act is *twenty-three* days, and between the second and the third act *twenty days*. But the presence of the statue of Dasaratha shows that it must be a longer period. No clue, however, seems to be available to determine this, except the fact that it is impossible to get ready a statue in a couple of week's time.

14. It seems better to add after the query the stage direction—(*wandering about and looking*). In the speech following there is an instance of good manners.

15. All the historical importance of act centres round this speech of Bharatha. We shall lay down one by one the various points made clear by this speech :—

(i) Bharatha is quite familiar with temples and the Statue-House has all the appearance of a temple.

(ii) The preparations made there suggest to Bharatha that it is a day of temple festivities. The full-moon day is an occasion for festivities in some of the temples. [Some such festivities would seem to have been current in Kerala, as could be seen from an old poem, the *Chandrōtsavā*, written in the local Vernacular.] It is worthy of note that such festivities are a common day occurrence in orthodox theistic centres.

(iii) The deity enshrined in a temple can be known from the external presence of the deity's peculiar weapons or the symbols of His flag.

(iv) Bharatha's appreciation of statues clearly shows that the art of sculpture has attained to a high degree of perfection. Further, the material on which the sculptor worked was *stone*, probably granite.

(v) Even though the figures *enshrined* look too much like human beings, as his words imply, even though it *was not very common to have more than one shrine in a temple*, yet Bharatha has not the least suspicion that it can be a *Statue-House*. *The whole thing suggests to him only a temple and nothing more than that*. This shows that Bharatha is *completely* ignorant of *Statues* and *Statue-Houses*.

From these, two things are quite clear: (i) Sculpture as an art has attained to a high degree of perfection; (ii) Idol-worship is in an advanced stage. Our remarks about this we give in the concluding portion of our notes.

16. This verse is found interpreted in another way also. "Being an idol,

it is but proper to bow down one's head; devoid of *mantras* shall I bow down, as the vulgar offer it." Such an interpretation seems to be not quite happy. Such a view can be tenable only on the supposition that Bharatha is justifying his obeisance by a reference to the Sudra method of doing it. This may stamp Bharatha as a man of broad-minded views but this will be an anachronism. And is it after all such a great fault as to necessitate a justification? On the other hand our interpretation seems to be quite natural and more proper to the occasion. He cannot be held to be justifying his conduct. Here is only the natural expression of what he feels. To offer obeisance to God is a duty imposed upon him by the code of religious conduct. The satisfactory performance of it requires he must do it with the proper *Mantras*, and these he cannot use, since he does not know to which deity the shrine is dedicated. He is, therefore, in an awkward predicament and can discharge his duty only in a half-hearted manner. It is this idea that Bharatha is now giving expression to.

17. Note the speech of *Dēvakulika*. He is struck with *Bharatha's great resemblance to the statues*. This shows that the statues are not merely symbolical, but that they exactly resemble the person intended. This is an additional fact to show that the art of sculpture has attained to a high degree of perfection.

This statement gives rise to another question: If the statues were true to life, how is it that Bharatha does not recognize any of them, at best his own father? Well, the answer is simple enough. He is *fully* under the impression that the statue-house is a temple and the statues are idols. Secondly, his mind is busy with the tender concern for his father and is full of the sweet thoughts of home. Thirdly, he is completely ignorant of all statue affairs. And lastly, he may have been standing at a respectable distance. Naturally therefore he does not recognize even his father among the statues.

18. The idea of the verse may not be quite clear and we shall add a word of explanation. In some temples, as is the case with some of the temples in our land, the efficacy of worship depends upon our doing it in a particular form and order and a stranger finds it difficult to worship properly without guidance. In other temples, and this seems to be the case with the sacred shrines on the East Coast, the efficacy depends upon our utilizing the services of a priest connected with the temple. With these in view does Bharatha ask him if he has to be given any directions, or if he has to utilize the service of himself, or of some other holy man.

19. This statement of Dēvakulika seems to be very important. As the statement stands, the genitive *Brāhmanasya* must be taken as referring to

Bharatha. It cannot be taken to mean the obeisance *to a Brahmin.* For Dēvakulika *knows* the statues represent Kṣatriyas. If we accept this reading, this statement becomes important, for it shows Bharatha is clad in the garb of a Brahmin. This would suggest that Kṣatriyas and Brahmins have different modes of dressing in the kingdom of Ayodhya. Such a distinction, however, is not to be had in the kingdom of Kēkaya, where the Kṣatriyas and the Brahmins are dressed in the same way. Hence we find Bharatha, returning after a very long stay in Kēkaya, *dressed like a Brahmin.* And note this statement is quite in keeping with the anticipation of Bharatha that he will be made fun of for his *dress.* (*Cf.* 10.)

If the reading as given in the text is the correct reading, the suggestion we have given before seems to be relevant. Since the text does not seem to be finally settled, we make bold to suggest a better reading, better from a literary point of view. Instead of दैवतशङ्कयाब्राह्मणजनस्येति read दैवतशङ्कयाऽब्राह्मणस्येति ॥ It is not proper to offer obeisance *to a non-Brahmin mistaking it for a deity,* and this means that Dēvakulika is announcing to Bharatha that the figures before him represent neither Gods nor Brahmins and is thus fully discharging his duty. In this case *Abrāhmanasya* cannot refer to Bharatha. For, if Dēvakulika has recognized him to be not a Brahmin, then the prohibition itself need not be made, since it is not improper for a Kṣatriya to offer obeisance to a Kṣhatriya, much less for a Vaiśya. Hence the prohibition is relevant only in case Dēvakulika *doubts Bharatha to be a Brahmin.* Hence in this case also we have the same historical point suggested.

20. Here begins the unfolding of the wonderful and unique dramatic contrivance utilized by our dramatist to inform Bharatha of the sad course of events at Ayodhya. By devising such a method, the ministers and the Queens are saved from their awkward predicament of narrating the painful incident. Further such a process necessitates for Bharatha the suppressing of the full outburst of his emotions. The first ebullition of his sorrow being thus over, Bharatha is able to meet the minister and mothers in a more prepared way without making a scene.

21. Note the noble eulogy that Bharatha heaps upon his glorious predecessors and his sincere thankfulness for being accidentally enabled to pay his respects to them. In the conversation following there is brought out by appropriate epithets the outstanding characteristics of his noble predecessors. The description by Dēvakulika of the statues suggests one more point about them. The statues are adorned with something symbolical of the peculiar character of the King whose statue it is. The statue of Dilipa must have some peculiar symbol to suggest that he is the *embodiment of Dharma.* Similarly Raghu's statue suggests that he is the *embodiment of*

Charity and that of Aja that he is the *embodiment of Love*. The great sorrow caused by the loss of his spouse Aja has been cherishing so long and in such impaired strength that it ascends the height of sublime pathos and rouses the wonder and admiration of all. Note the term, *Avabṛthasnanam*. It means the final bath after a *Yaga* is over. The King's life has been one continuous *Yaga* and his daily bath is as good as an *Avabṛthasnanam*. Consequently, in the same way as the bath purifies the body removing all the dirt and dust (*i.e.*, Raja), in the case of Aja it leads to the purification of his mind. Such sorrow purges the king's mind of all its Rājas, *i.e.*, all Rājasa qualities.

22. The stage direction and the subsequent speech of Bharatha clearly show that he recognizes his father. With the knowledge that those are the statues of his venerable ancestors he must have gone nearer them. He cannot indeed recognize the statues of his forefathers because in the first place he does not know any of them. Even in the case of his father, it cannot be said that he fully recognizes him, for he has been living away from him since his boyhood. This, then, may be adduced as a further argument to justify Bharatha's not recognizing the statues earlier. Circumstances, however, much more than his recollection of his father's features, must have helped him to recognize the last of the statues as that of his father. The next in order after his grandfather is his own father. Secondly, he has heard that his father is not well. Naturally his mind becomes rent up with anxious feelings, a thousand doubts and agonies. He wants to know the truth, but dares not frame the question for fear of hearing the worst. Hence he tries a new method and asks him to repeat the names once more, so that he may ward off the unpleasant news for some time more.

23. If Dēvakulika had been shrewd enough, he could have learnt that Bharatha was the son of Dasaratha. But he is probably surprised at the change that is come over the face of Bharatha, a change which to Dēvakulika appears to be very strange, and hence the comment of Bharatha appears to be lost on him. Further, the recognition at this stage would have but ill-served the dramatic method, for, then, the announcement of Dasaratha's death could not have been made in such a pungent form.

Note the expression '*what, what*'. Here he is evidently trying to frame the pregnant question which will settle his doubts once and for all. The phrase, 'what, what'—seems to introduce the question that Bharatha puts later on—'*Are the statues of living kings also put up?*" Note his suppressed mental anguish. Probably he feels that he has revealed himself. But his clumsy hesitation gives him a *momentary relief*. Dēvakulika realizes that something is wrong somewhere, though he does not realize now who the

stranger is, has not the least inkling that he is standing before Ayodhya's mighty emperor. The strange behaviour of the visitor strikes pity into his heart, and he repeats the names once again.

24. Like the dying man catching at a straw, Bharatha hopes that his father might after all be not dead. Probably it may be the custom that the statues of living kings also are put up. And yet he stands prepared to hear the worst. And hence he frames the necessary question. None too soon comes the reply. Alas, the worst is known, his anxious suspense is over. His natural firmness comes to his rescue and in his own dignified way he prepares to take leave so that he may give free vent to his feelings and thus ease his bleeding heart; hence he bids him good-bye. But Bharatha is not to be let off so easily. He has something still worse to hear. So Dēvakulika, with his curiosity roused, asks him why he does not inquire of the statue of Dasaratha, who has forfeited his life and his kingdom in the name of *dowry*. It needs scarcely be said that the method of announcement is very beautiful and dramatic. Note also the condemnation implied. This seems to be rather unconscious, for Dēvakulika cannot have motive to wound the feelings of one who is a stranger to him. Hence this enhances the pathetic effect. Bharatha now knows that his mother is *instrumental* in bringing about the catastrophe. And now he reels under this blow, this double blow, and he falls down into a swoon.

Note again Bharatha's question. Does it imply that he is entirely ignorant of statues and statue affairs, or only of the custom of putting up statues for living kings? The general tenour of his remarks here and elsewhere shows that the former is the more correct suggestion and this is in keeping with the view we have put forth.

25. Bharatha's speech shows that he is sorry not so much on account of the death of the King as on account of his own ugly share in it.

26. This statement of Dēvakulika appears to be a soliloquy and hence have we added the necessary stage direction. Hearing the exclamation of Bharatha and seeing his natural exhibition of sorrow, Dēvakulika seems to doubt the truth of who Bharatha is and hence the question. Though he is prepared for it, the announcement takes him by surprise; he repents of his harsh statement and feels the awkwardness of his position. Most unguarded has been his statement which may even be construed as treason, if only Bharatha follows the footsteps of his mother! Naturally therefore he quails as he stands before Ayodhya's mighty monarch. To make the best of his position, he wishes to escape and so bids him good-bye; but this time it is Bharatha who stops him; for he wishes to know the whole course of events in all their details, so that he may determine what he may do to vindicate his honour in the eyes of the world.

27. It seems that here also the stage directions are omitted; and hence we have added the words *aside* and *aloud*. Note the announcement of his brother's exile, close upon the heels of the news of the King's death, comes upon Bharatha like a clap of thunder from the blue vault of heaven. Never has he been more unprepared, and naturally he swoons away.

28. Note the happy comparison with the King dead and his brother exiled; Ayodhya is like a river that has emptied itself of its waters; in other words, life has ebbed away. He compares himself to a thirsty traveller.

Note the statement following. The question of dowry he has been told is at the bottom of the King's tragedy. But what the connection between the death of the King and the exile of the brother is he cannot now understand, and hence he calls for fuller details. He expects that the dowry is the cause of his brother's exile and hence is afraid that Dēvakulika may not give all the details for fear of implicating his own mother. Hence the orders not to keep back anything. We seem to see Bharatha's eyes fixed in full upon Dēvakulika, and the latter quailing before him.

29. With the mention of the Coronation of Rama, Bharatha easily understands the course of events. In thus making him anticipate for himself the events and the part played therein by his mother, the pathos of the situation is greatly enhanced, which gets its finishing touch, when he falls down swooning. This is further useful from a dramatic point of view; for though he is right in the main outlines, he does not know the minute details. And this justifies the harsh treatment he gives his mother.

At this crucial moment are the Queens announced. This introduction has been especially appropriate and happy. As Dēvakulika aptly remarks, nothing can so well soothe the disturbed peace of mind of Bharatha. But, as the situation then stands, the presence of the widowed mothers only enhances his sorrow and rouses his anger.

30. The speech of Sumantra shows that he is in total ignorance of the arrival of Bharatha. This requires a word of explanation, in as much as the preceptors have sent word to Bharatha that he must wait outside for sometime. But we may point out that this move of the preceptors is only an *anticipated one* and that they have stationed a soldier on the route with definite instructions. And before the soldier takes to them the news of the prince's arrival, Sumantra may have started for the *Statue-House*. Or probably the latter may have been busy in the harem. Anyway it seems clear that neither Sumantra nor the Queens have any idea of meeting Bharatha in the Statue-House and they are quite unprepared for this meeting.

Note the verse given expression to by Sumantra. Here is given something more about the Statue-House. In the first place, the Statue-House is

a beautiful structure. He says that it is taller than even palaces. This suggests that it is a monument of architectural skill. Secondly, it is open to the public; all may enter and pay their respects to the revered rulers of Ayodhya. Note also that the Kings of Ayodhya, when they die, become only dearer and more accessible to the people; for now they can dispense with all formalities of a court visit.

31. This exclamation of Bharatha is not the result of his recognizing the new comers. Note also his succeeding speech is addressed to Dēvakulika. He is ignorant of the arrival of the queens and the minister.

32. Note Bharatha does not recognize Sumantra but he thinks it must be his minister from his behaviour and conduct. Why, his conversation shows that he has not recognized even his mothers, even though they have removed the veils. It is worthy of note that, in spite of his burden of grief, which is powerful enough to suppress all his activities and good sense, he does not forget good manners. Here is the strength of innate nobility and innocence.

33. So steeped is she in misery, so well has she realized the poignancy of the sorrows, that the noble queen can invoke on her son nothing other than *freedom from sorrows*, indeed the result of the loving solicitude to see that this her son at least may be free from sorrows. We cannot hold with Bharatha that Queen Kausalya has intended any taunt. The statement of Bharatha, however, gives a natural touch to his character, and he may indeed be pardoned for the unwarranted interpretation. Indeed in the position in which he is, he can find nothing other than a taunt. For, in the eyes of Kausalya, is not the cup of *his* happiness full? His father is dead, his elder brother, his only rival, exiled; and the kingdom is given to him; and so in short, he has everything to make life easy and happy. Thus in the pious wish of his mother, which is the outcome of parental solicitude, Bharatha can find only the deep pangs of a wronged woman.

34. Note the conversation between Bharatha and Sumitra. Here is the first suggestion to the mothers of his own position and his resolve. He insinuates herein that he is very sorry that Lakṣmana has left him behind. For, as a beloved brother should he not have taken him also? The blessing of Sumitra has been quite appropriate. She wishes him to become famous, the fame that her own son has achieved, thereby suggesting that he can follow his footsteps and be like him. Bharatha understands the current of her thoughts and hence he says he will try.

35. With the announcement of Kaikeyi, the situation becomes very dramatic and is characterised by an under-current of pathos which is so strong that we begin to feel for the unlucky queen some pity. The utter failure of her schemes, which now appear to be abnormally monstrous, the

severe, but none the less undeserving, treatment meted out to her by her righteously indignant son, and her own words which suggest it that 'the dirt is not so black as is painted'—these rouse our sympathy for the ill-fated queen.

36. The text reads सरोषमुत्थाय. Evidently the word उत्थाय must be omitted and so we have given only *Angrily*. Note the verse following. The contrast only works to her discredit. By standing in the company of Kausalya and Sumitra, Kaikeyi seems to be more cruel than she would otherwise be.

37. Note the beautiful summing up of the results of Kaikeyi's deeds. Bharatha seems to have put into it all the bitterness of his heart and we believe Kaikeyi must have shrunk back on hearing this expression of manly indignation from her noble son.

38. Note the interference of Kausalya. This gives Bharatha an occasion to explain his position.

39. Note the noble view expressed by Bharatha. The tie between the mother and the son is the strongest of all worldly ties. But even this tie snaps, when the mother oppresses the father.

The third quarter of the verse is capable of being interpreted in another way. *'I am the upholder of Dharma but a mother'* etc. If we take this view, the idea becomes slightly different. For, he is here laying an exception to the usual Dharma. According to the former, he is laying down a new code of conduct.

Note the continuous succession of cruel stabs that Bharatha inflicts on his mother.

40. Note the beautiful idea here. Bharatha is laying down Rama's claims to the throne, and thereby suggesting the cruelty of his mother's action.

41. What does Kaikeyi mean here? Does she mean that her parents are to be asked, that she is not to blame if she asked the kingdom for her own son, but her parents who insisted on getting the kingdom as the dowry? It looks like that. At least Bharatha seems to understand it in this sense.

42. This is a beautiful reply to the statement of his mother. He assumes he can understand the position of Kaikeyi and so shifts his position and asks her if the exile of Rama is also stipulated in the dowry. To explain her position she ought to give out the whole truth. But like a wise woman she thinks that it is no use arguing with her son at that time and so says she will explain her conduct on a future occasion.

43. Note this concluding portion of Bharatha's condemnation of his mother. Manly indignation, wounded honour, uncontrollable sorrow for the

unnatural end of his father and the exile of his brother, natural pity for the unlucky and miserable queen, these predominate his heart one after another. The verses are so beautiful and appropriate that there is unconsciously produced in our minds some pity for the unhappy queen.

44. Bharatha would still have continued this sad review; but at this stage are announced the spiritual heads of the kingdom who are come to welcome him ready with everything for the Coronation. This opportunity is utilized by Bharatha to give his mother one more stab (*Cf.* 45) and to explain his intention.

Thus ends this Act. It needs scarcely be said that our venerable dramatist shows his great powers of delineating *character* and *passion*, in the matter of which this Act is rarely rivalled by any other in the whole range of Sanskrit Literature.

A Note on the Statues.

Of all the dramas of Bhāsa, there is none that has attracted the attention of research scholars so much as *Pratima-Nāṭaka*. Such attention has been paid to it, because mention is here made in the Act we have been considering of *statues* which, as we have mentioned, have been utilized as a unique dramatic contrivance. There has been only one department of human skill in which *ancient* India cannot boast of any achievement and that is in the beautiful art of sculpture. But the mention of statues here and their happy use once and for all show without scope for doubt and controversy that at least at the *time* of Bhāsa, the art of sculpture has attained to a high degree of perfection. And this leads us to suppose that it must have had a history at that time; in other words this art must be supposed to have been earlier than Bhāsa.

We shall, to begin with, sum up what we can directly get from the drama about the statues. In the first place, then, the statues exhibit exquisite workmanship. Secondly, they are made out of stones, probably granite (*Cf.* 15). Thirdly, they are not merely symbolic but carry real likeness with them (*Cf.* 17). Fourthly, statues are put up for all dead kings. And lastly, these are kept not exposed to the inclemencies of the weather but in a house. As regards the statue house, we know (i) that it is a magnificent structure adorned with all the skill of the architect; (ii) that it has outwardly all the appearance of a temple; (iii) that it is built not in the city itself but in the suburbs; (iv) that it is looked upon as a place of worship; (v) that it is in charge of a keeper; and (vi) that it is open to the public. It need not be specially pointed here that these points suggest that the art of sculpture was in a developed stage at the time of our poet.

Still another point of great historical importance made out from this act is that *idol-worship* is in a developed stage at the time of our poet. It is clear from the statement of Bharatha that *majestic temples were reared in those days*, that *they were a common feature*, that *the same structure would contain more than one idol* and that *they were dedicated to various gods*. Further, the deity enshrined could be known by *the presence outside of the weapons or the symbols* peculiar to the deity. Again, there *were daily festivities in some temple*, especially those in orthodox centres, while *the full-moon day was a common festive occasion*. In view of this explicit reference to *idol-worship in a developed stage*, the statement that Hinduism borrowed its idol-worship from Buddhism requires revision, if we accept for Bhāsa the antiquity that is assigned to him.

Again, the statement of Bharatha shows that he is completely *ignorant of statues and statue-houses*. For even in spite of some anomalies, such as the absence of the external symbols, the presence of more than one shrine, *which, therefore, seems to be not very common*, Bharatha can see in the Statue-House *only a temple*. This betrays his entire ignorance of statues, but his great familiarity with idols and temples.

From the ignorance that Bharatha pleads, it seems that the art of sculpture is *not very old* but *new*. Why, the art is unknown in Kekaya. And when we bear in mind also the sanctity attached to statues, we are more or less driven to the conclusion that *the art of sculpture must have sprung up from the art of idol-making*. Such a view would also help us to explain to some extent the sanctity that is attached to statues. If this view is tenable, then we can rightly hold that the making of idols must have given the sculptor the necessary training in the art. And it seems that the art of sculpture is not yet recognized as an independent art, has not been assigned its deserving place amongst the *Fine Arts*. In other words, the sculptor, though he is no longer a mere *artisan*, is yet not accepted to be an artist; and the art, at the stage at which we meet it here, is only a utilitarian art.

With the art of sculpture in such a degree of perfection, it may seem queer to us that the capital of Dasaratha, the fair city of Ayodhya, should not have been adorned with the beautiful statues of its mighty sovereigns, but that these should have been shoved into a suburban villa. The view that we have put forth above seems, however, to be a sufficient answer to this. Further, the Hindus treat their kings as Gods and it is quite in keeping with this attitude that the statues of their kings should have been kept in a sacred groove in a secluded place far from the bustle of the city and that in a structure which has every appearance of a temple.

A word more and we have finished. The keeping of the statues in a

suburban villa, its appearance of a place of worship, the visit of the queens, these put us in mind of ancestor-worship that is current amongst the Nairs in Malabar. And this gives rise to a very interesting question from the solution of which some important historical matter may be obtained. Is there any connection between the statue affair mentioned here and ancestor-worship? If there is, what does that represent, the beginnings or the decay? Where was ancestor-worship current, when and to what extent and in what form? A consideration of these questions will, we hope, be interesting and important. But for want of reference, we are unluckily prevented from pursuing the subject. We hope, however, to take up the subject on a future occasion.

In conclusion, I must add a word of apology. I have been told that based on this Statue incident a serious controversy is being carried on in the pages of the valuable Journal of Behar and Orissa Research Society and elsewhere. If I have not drawn upon them for the greater elucidation of the subject of Statues, if I have not utilized herein the valuable light thrown upon this subject, it is not because it is not profitable or interesting. This regrettable and probably unjustifiable omission is solely due to the fact that I have unfortunately no access to those pages. I have added this note so that I may not be misunderstood or misjudged.

ON SOME VESTIGES OF THE CUSTOM OF OFFERING HUMAN SACRIFICES TO WATER-SPIRITS.

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It is Sir E. Tylor who, in his great work, Primitive Culture, promulgated his theory of the religion which is known as "*The Theory of Animism*". The word "*Animism*" is derived from the Latin term "*anima*", which, like the corresponding Latin word "*Spiritus*" from which the English word "*Spirit*" is derived, means the "*the breath*" and hence "*the soul*" which all primitive peoples have a tendency to identify with the breath. Animism may, therefore, be defined as "*The Belief in Spiritual Beings*".

This *Animism*, as distinguished from the wider sense in which Sir E. Tylor uses it, namely as "*a Doctrine of Universal Vitality*," and which Professor Marett distinguishes by the distinctive appellation of *Animatism*, is one of the principal mental characteristics of all peoples living in a low plane of culture.

Now, along with this idea of "*Spiritual beings*," there is another idea, namely, that of "*power or rather of many powers*" which lies at the basis of Animism.

To my mind, the following description which Sir Herbert Risley gives of the religion of the Animistic tribes which live on the Chota Nagpore Plateau, holds good of the Animistic beliefs which are current among all races of people throughout the globe :—"What the Animist worships and seeks in strange ways to influence and conciliate is the shifting and shadowy company of unknown powers or tendencies, making for evil rather for good; which resides in the primeval forest, in the crumbling hills, in the rushing river, in the spreading tree, which gives its spring to the tiger, its venom to the snake, which generates jungle fever, and walks abroad in the terrible guise of cholera, small-pox or murrain."

Now, the animistic belief that a spirit or power resides in the rushing river or the flowing stream survives even to the present day in enlightened Great Britain. The rustic folk of the English countryside still believe that a water-spirit or water-wraith dwells in the rivers Tees, Skerne, Ribble, Spey, and Dee. It is believed that all these water-spirits require human victims in order to appease them. There is a popular belief to the effect that the spirit or

wraith of the river Spey, which is spoken of as "She", demands at least one human victim every year; whereas—

"Bloodthirsty Dee
Each year needs three."

The water-spirit which dwells in the river Tees is called "Peg Powler" who is described as being a kind of Lorelei possessed of hair of green colour and having an unappeasable penchant for human victims. The froth or foam which floats over the waters of this river is called "Peg Poweler's suds"; while the finer, less sponge-like foam is designated "Peg Powler's Cream."

The spirit who resides in the river Ribble rejoices in the name of "Peg O' Nell." She requires a human victim every seventh year. It is popularly believed that, unless a bird, a cat or a dog is drowned in the stream on "Peg's night," it is certain that a human being will get drowned there.*

Sometimes the illiterate English peasantry believe the stream itself to be a spirit who captures his victims, as will appear from the undernoted list of folklore which has been recorded in respect of the river Derwent in Derbyshire in England. Now a man got drowned in this river in January 1904. With regard to this drowning fatality, an old woman neighbour of the deceased, with a triumphant tone in her voice, complained as follows: "He didna know Darrant. He said it were nought but a brook. But Darrant got him. They never saw his head, he threw his arms up, but Darrant wouldna let him go. Aye, it's a sad pity,—seven children. But he shouldna ha' made so light of Darrant. He knows now. Nought but a brook. He knows now." ("She talked of the river as if it were a loving personage or deity" wrote the translator, "I could almost imagine the next step would be to take its offerings.")†

In India also, there is current the same belief that every river or stream has its indwelling spirit who requires a human victim or sacrifice to appease him or her. In the Kandi sub-division of the district of Murshidabad in North-Western Bengal, two female water-spirits named Shâta and Jâtha are popularly believed to reside in tanks and ponds and to demand human sacrifices. Among the Khasis of the hill tracts of Assam, who rejoice in the name of U. Yak Jakar, he is believed to live in pools, ponds and other large bodies of water. It is said that, whenever he sees a human being, he rises to the surface of the water, drags the latter to the bottom thereof, and kills him by drowning. But so long as he stands he can do no harm to any one.‡

* An Introduction to Folklore. By Marian Roale Cox, London. David Nutt, 1897, pages 147-148.

† The Handbook of Folklore. By C. S. Burne, London. Sidgwick and Jackson, Limited, 1914, pages 27-28.

‡ Folktales of the Khasis. By Mrs. Rafy, London. Macmillan & Company, Limited, pages 143-146.

Similarly, the Lushais, who are another aboriginal tribe living in the hill tracts of North-Eastern India, believe that all streams are inhabited by spirits or demons who are called "Tui-huai". These water-spirits who are uniformly malevolent, can be propitiated by the offering of sacrifices. *

In India, the aforementioned belief has undergone a peculiar and curious modification which is to the effect that, whenever a tank or pond is excavated and no water comes out of it, it is popularly believed that this absence of water is due to the fact of no human sacrifice having been offered to the water-spirit or "the shadowy being of unknown power or tendency" who dwells in that tank or pond, and that, therefore, it is urgently necessary to kill a child and offer it by way of sacrifice to that being, in order that that tank or pond might get filled with water to the brim.

For reasons which I shall presently state I am of opinion that this modified belief was a part and parcel of the mental equipment of the Non-Aryan aborigines of India.

So far as these researches go, we have found that, in the remote past and possibly during historic times, the aforementioned custom of offering human sacrifices to water-spirits or water-wraiths was widely current in North-Eastern, Western and Central India, and that the vestiges thereof still exist in those parts among races of people who have Non-Aryan aboriginal blood in their veins.

Anthropologists are of opinion that the Dravidian type of people at present resident in India probably represents the Non-Aryan aborigines or the original inhabitants of this country, who have now been modified to some extent by the absorption of Aryan, Scythian and Mongoloid elements.

The Santals are a people of this Dravidian type, who reside in the Santal Parganas and Chota Nagpore in North-Eastern India. Now, some vestiges of the custom of offering human sacrifices to water-spirits are traceable, even at the present day, in the folklore of these Santals, as will appear from the following examples thereof :—

In the pathetic Santal folktale entitled "*Seven Brothers and Their Sister*"†, it is stated that the seven brothers had a tank excavated in order that their names might be perpetuated by it. But, as their ill-luck would have it, no water came out of it. Thereupon he consulted a *Jugi Gosae* (most likely a Santal soothsayer) who advised them that, if they would offer their sister as a sacrifice to the spirit of the tank, it would be filled with water. Acting up to his advice, they ordered her to fetch water from that tank. Accordingly

* The Lushai Kuki Clans. By Lt.-Col. J. Shakespear, London. Macmillan and Company, Limited, 1912, pages 65—66.

† Santal Folktales. By A. Campbell. Pokhuria Santal Mission Press. Pages 106—107.

she went inside the empty tank to fill her pitcher with water. As soon as she went into it, water began to flow out and gradually filled up the tank till she was drowned in it.

Similarly, in another Santal folktale entitled: "*The Girl who always found Helpers*", * it is narrated that, once upon a time, there lived six brothers and a sister. All the brothers were married; but sister remained a maiden. Whenever they left their home on business, their wives, who hated their maiden sister-in-law from the bottom of their hearts, harassed and worried her in every possible way. When they came to know of their wives' cruel conduct towards their sister they made up their minds to punish them mercilessly. With this object in view, they had a deep well dug. (It is not, however, stated in this folktale whether or not water had come out of the well.) On the pretence of propitiating the water-spirit, they ordered their wives to take in their hands offerings of rice and the like, go to the well, and stand round the brink thereof. As soon as the wicked women arrived at the well with the offerings in their hands, and stood round the margin thereof, their husbands from behind pushed them into the well whereinto the latter fell head foremost. Thereafter the well was covered up.

Travelling further eastwards from the Santal Parganas and Chota Nagpore, we arrive in Bengal where (as well as in Orissa) people of the Mongolo-Dravidian or Bengali type have their habitat. Now, this very interesting type of Indian humanity has been evolved by the extreme intermingling of peoples of Aryan ancestry with Tibeto-Burman and Mongoloid folks and other aboriginal inhabitants.

Now, some vestiges of the aforementioned custom of offering human sacrifices to water-spirits still exist in the folklore of the Bengalis who belong to this Mongolo-Dravidian type and who have a strain of Dravidian blood flowing in their veins. This is evidenced by the undermentioned examples of Bengali folklore from North-Western and Eastern Bengal:—

In the following legend which is recited in connection with the ceremonial worship of the goddess Chapetā Shashthī, there is a mention of the aforementioned custom of offering human sacrifices to the water-spirit in order that a newly-excavated tank might get filled with water.

This ceremonial worship is performed in the month of Bhādra (August-September) in the villages of Panchthuphi in the Kandi-subdivision in the district of Murshidabad in North Western Bengal.

On this occasion, the goddess Shashthī is worshipped with the offering of 7 pieces of dhaḍā (धड़ा) or small pieces of clothing, 7 cocoanuts, 7 bael fruits (*Aegle marmelos*), 7 palm-fruits (*Borassus flabelliformis*), 7

* Op. Cit., pages 119—124.

plantains, 7 mangoes, 7 balls made of parched rice sweetened with molasses (मडिर लाड) and 7 sweetmeats made of clotted cream (पेडा). (Mark that seven is a sacred number.)

The following articles are also used in the worship of this deity:—(1) bamboo-leaves; (2) oil and turmeric; (3) curdled milk (दइ); (4) fruits of the *Luffa acutangula* (jhinga); (5) a trayful of the offering of unboiled rice (उपनोचालेर नैबिधि); (6) sweetstuffs; and (7) thread made of unbleached cotton (धर त्मुतो).

The celebrant of this worship has to bake a flattened cake of the paste made of ground rice. She has to give pieces of the rice-cake to others and also to partake of it herself. The fruits, the sweetmeats made of clotted cream and the sweetened balls of parched rice are distributed to the children. The small pieces of clothing (धड) are distributed to the children in order that they may wear them.

The worship of this goddess must be performed on the margin of a tank.

The legend referred to above, which is recited on the occasion of the worship of this goddess, runs as follows:—

A *Baniya* or merchant had a son, a daughter-in-law, and seven grandsons. He had got a tank excavated; but water did not come out of it. He came to know in a vision that, if his eldest grandson would be offered as a sacrifice to the water-spirit or the presiding spirit of the tank, water would come out of it. So he held up the child to the Jātha (or the old female-spirit who resided in the tank); and his son cut it up.

As soon as the sacrificed child's blood began to gush out, water also began to flow out into the tank.

Now, two old female-spirits, one of whom named Shāta, and the other Jātha, who dwelt beneath the tank, began to quarrel as to which of them would take possession of the child. While they were quarrelling, the goddess Shashthi arrived there and took possession of the child.

When the mother of the sacrificed child came to worship the goddess Shashthi at the tank, her deityship told the child: "Go to your mother, by holding the thread of unbleached cotton which has been tied on the stalk of a *Jhinga* fruit (*Luffa acutangula*) which has been set afloat by her in the tank."

The child obeyed this behest of the goddess and thus its mother got it back.*

Then again, in the legend which is recited in connection with the ceremonial worship of the goddess Nātāi, in the Eastern Bengal, an incident which

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* *Vide* pages 41—44 of Srimati Kirānbalā Dāsi's *Vratakathā* which has been published by the *Bangīya-Sahitya-Parishat* of Calcutta.

is strikingly similar to that occurring in the legend of the worship of the goddess Chapetā Shashthī, is mentioned. It is as follows :—A Baniyā or merchant had a son named Srimanta, a daughter-in-law named Dhanapatkumari, and a grandson. He had got a tank excavated ; but no water came out of it. He came to know, in a vision, that if his grandson be offered as a sacrifice to the presiding spirit of the tank, water would come out of it.

So Srimanta took his son to the tank, cut him up into two pieces, and threw the same into the tank, whereupon water gushed out and filled it up.

The mother of the sacrificed child happened to go to the tank in order to bathe in its waters. Having gone there, she worshipped the goddess Nātāi. Being pleased at her worship, her deityship made herself manifest to her and made over her missing son to his mother who took him home to the great delight of all.

It is popularly believed that lost things are recovered by worshipping the goddess Nātāi.*

We now leave North-Western and Eastern Bengal and travel to Western India which is inhabited by the Maharatha Brahmans, the Kunbis, and the Coorgs, besides various other races of people.

According to the latest anthropological researches, the Maharathas, the Kunbis, and the Coorgs belong to the Scytho-Dravidian type of Indian peoples.

Now, the aforementioned custom of offering human sacrifices to water-spirits appears also to have been prevalent among the Maharathas of Western India, who, as has been stated above, belong to the Scytho-Dravidian type of Indian humanity and have, therefore, a strain of Dravidian blood in their veins. This is testified to by the mention of the aforesaid custom in the undermentioned Maharatha folktale which has been recently collected and published from Western India :—

In the Marathi nursery tale entitled "The King and the Water-Goddess", the king of a town named Atpat excavated a tank for the benefit of the villagers. Though he strove hard to get it filled with water, no water flowed out of it. This greatly distressed his mind ; and he was at his wits' end to find out what expedient he should adopt in order to have the tank filled up with water. As a last resort, he prayed to the water-goddess for help in this matter.

Being satisfied with his prayers, she advised him to sacrifice to her the eldest son of his daughter-in-law, by doing which, she said, the tank would be filled up with water.

* *Vide* pages 107—111 of Sri Paramesaprasanna Rayā's *Meyeli Vratakathā* published from the Asutosh Library, No. 50/1, College Street, Calcutta.

Accordingly, by a clever ruse, the King obtained possession of his grandson from his daughter-in-law. He then bathed and anointed the child, and, after rigging the latter out with valuable ornaments, took him into the middle of the waterless tank and made him lie down as if on a bed, telling him, at the same time, not to budge or stir.

Being greatly pleased with this offering of a human sacrifice, the water-goddess caused a large volume of water to flow out of the bed of the tank and fill it right up to the brim. Thereby the child was drowned.

When the king's daughter-in-law returned from her parental home whither she had been sent for a visit, and guessed out what had happened to her son during her absence, she and her brother went to the margin of the tank and worshipped the water-goddess with offerings of curds, rice, butter and betel-nuts which had been placed on a leaf of the cucumber-plant,* and prayed as follows: "O water-goddess, Mother of all, if any of our family has been drowned in this tank, be gracious enough to restore him to life, and give him back to us."

Being highly satisfied with this worship, the water-goddess brought the sacrificed child back to life and restored him to his mother.†

(Note the striking similarity between the incidents of this Maharathi nursery tale with those of the Bengali legends connected with the ceremonial worship of the goddesses Chapeta Shashthi and Natia.)

In the Central Provinces (of India), there are various legends current on the subject of great tanks and reservoirs of water having been filled up with water after human sacrifices had been offered to the water-spirits presiding over them. It is said that the Banjara (most likely a member of a non-Aryan aboriginal tribe), who excavated the Sangor Lake, was obliged to sacrifice his son and daughter-in-law to the presiding spirit of the lake. When this had been done, the lake became filled with water. Even to the present day, so strong is the belief among the Banjars that the waters of this lake are tainted with the blood of their tribesmen that none of them would drink water out of it. It is popularly believed that, since that time, the presiding spirit of the lake has levied his yearly toll of two victims by bringing about the death of two human beings by drowning.‡ (Compare it with similar belief, mentioned

* Compare this use of the leaf of the cucumber-plant as a platter for laying the food-offerings to the water-goddess upon, with the similar use of the leaf of the closely-allied cucurbitaceous dhudul-creeper (*Luffa aegyptiaca*) for placing the food-offerings to the kites and the jackals upon, in the Jitiya-worship of North Bihar. *Vide* my paper "*On a Bihari ceremonial Worship of Totemistic Origin*" in *the Journal of the Department of Letters of the Calcutta University*, Vol. IV, pages 124-125.

† Deccan Nursery Tales, By C. A. Kincaid, London. Macmillan and Company, Limited, 1917, pages 112—114.

‡ *Vide* Rai Bahadur Hira Lal's paper on "Human Sacrifice in Central India" read on the 4th February 1931, before the Indian Science Congress at Calcutta.

Supra of the English country-folk that the water-spirits or water-wraiths of the river Spey and Dee respectively levy a toll of one and three human victims every year.)

I have been hitherto dealing with instances of human sacrifices which are offered to the water-spirit or water-wraith under the belief that, by propitiating him or her, the tanks or ponds would be filled with water.

But I shall deal with that aspect of the custom according to which human sacrifices are offered to the water-spirit for propitiating him when it is believed that he, in his wrath, has filled a tank or reservoir with flood-waters and, in consequence thereof, has caused the embankments thereof to be breached.

As an instance of this, I may cite the case of a human sacrifice which occurred in 1914 in the Chanda District of the Central Provinces (of India). It came about as follows: In July 1914, the bund or embankment of a tank burst and was repaired. But, on account of the heavy rainfall of that year, it was about to be breached again. The panic-stricken villagers sacrificed many goats to propitiate the presiding spirit of the tank who, they supposed, had been offended and was, therefore, causing the embankment to burst. But they thought that he was not appeased thereby.

Shortly afterwards, the Zamindar's agent dreamt a dream in which the presiding spirit of the tank appeared to him and said that a human being should be sacrificed to him and that offering of anything else would not satisfy him.

The agent communicated the fact of the dream to four others among whom was the Kotwar. This news spread like wild fire throughout the village but was apparently received without any feelings of surprise. Parents hid their own children and awaited the development of events with the greatest anxiety. At last on the 6th August 1914, a child was obtained. Its forehead was besmeared with vermilian, and, thereafter, it was taken to the tank where it was throttled; and its lifeless body was thrown into it. The District Superintendent of Police reported: "The tank was saved; and peace settled over the village."*

Floods in rivers also were and are still attributed to the wrath of the offended water-spirit; and it is sought to appease his anger by sacrificing a human child to him. This is testified to by the existence of a custom in Berar (in Central India) through which the river Purna flows. Now, whenever this river is in flood, the inhabitants of the villages of its banks seek to propitiate the offended river-spirit by resorting to the device of offering him

* *Vide* Rai Bahadur Hira Lal's paper on "*Human Sacrifice in Central India*" read before the Anthropological Section of the Indian Science Congress at its eighth annual sessions, on the 4th February 1921.

a vicarious human sacrifice, that is to say, by offering him the substitute of a human victim. This is done by taking a child in its cradle to the over-flooded river and placing it in the waters thereof. When the cradle has been washed by the river-water the child is taken out.

Closely akin to the aforementioned forms of the custom is that of offering a human sacrifice to the water-spirit or the spirit of the Sea; whenever a ship or any other kind of Sea-going vessel, for some reason or other, gets stuck to her moorings and cannot be started on her voyage. This sacrifice is offered under the belief that the water-spirit has got angry with the sailors and that his wrath can be appeased only by the killing of a human victim and offering his body to the former. We have come across vestiges of this third form of the custom in the folklore of Bengal and the Punjab.

In a Muhammadan version* of the well-known Bengali folk-tale entitled *Sita-Basanta*, a merchant is about to set sail for a trading enterprise: But the ship gets stuck to her moorings and cannot be started for her intended voyage. The captain of the vessel says that, unless a human sacrifice is offered (apparently to the spirit of the sea), the vessel will not start. Thereupon Basanta, the co-hero of the tale, who is wandering about in a helpless condition, is seized and about to be sacrificed, when, on the intercession of the merchant's wife, his life is spared.

Similarly in a folk-tale from the Punjab, a human sacrifice is offered for raising a fair wind. Most probably, in this case, the water-spirit has been, for some reason or other angered and, in order to give vent to his anger withholds a fair wind and, thereby, prevents the ship from leaving her moorings and starting on the intended voyage. The human victim appears to be immolated for the purpose of propitiating the offended water-spirit and, thereby, coaxing him into raising a fair wind to enable the ship to set sail.†

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* Compiled by Ghulam Kadir and published by Afazuddin Ahmad from No. 155-1, Masjid-bari Street, Calcutta.

† Temple and Steel's *Wide-awake Stories* (1884), page 147.

REVIEWS.

"A Study of Caste."

By P. Lakshminarasu, *367 Mint Street, Madras.*

Price Rs. 1-8-0.

The writer of this small book is already known to the public as the author of *The Essence of Buddhism*; and the present book also bears Buddhistic imprints. The treatment of the subject is neither scholarly nor impartial; and it seems to be actuated with a blind prejudice against the Brahmins and the Brahminical ideals.

The author considers that the *Caste system* is peculiar to India and that it considerably differs from the *Class system* that existed and exists in other countries, in all the essential characteristics of "Mutual repulsion, hierarchical organization and hereditary specialization." It is a pity that he forgets that *Caste* is not peculiar to India, and that the independence and privileges of the priestly class are entirely Indo-European in origin. Both among the Romans and the Greeks there existed a priestly class exercising uncontrolled authority over kings and people. How far the caste system of Vedic India, in spite of its later day rigidities, resembled that of Greece and Rome may be gleaned from the following observations of A. H. Greenidge in his *Handbook of Greek Constitutional History*.

"We may now form some idea of the nobility of birth..... "Their special claims to honour were the exclusive possession of the sacrifices "and higher religious rites of the State, the exclusive knowledge of its laws, and "the sole possession of that citizenship which resulted from higher birth and "from inherited wealth and culture."

The author seems to hold that India before Buddhism was suffering from one continuous evil of a caste-ridden Brahmin Hierarchy, and that any good that may be found in the later Hinduism is due to the advent of Buddhism. This is really doing a great injustice to the intelligence and ability of the other castes and civilizations, especially Dravidian which was in no way inferior to the Aryan. Apart from the questionable Divine origin of caste, there are certain important factors which go to show that the caste system in India was not forced upon an unwilling and illiterate mass by the exclusive genius of the Indo-Aryans alone, and that the priestly Brahmin is not solely responsible for its later day rigidities. It is much to be regretted that the author is not able to recognize some at least of the advantages of the system in the early days of civilization and to discern the sublime and salutary conception of the Vedic Rishies in their happy blending of the caste and the class systems of human division. While the four divisions of people in the Purusha Sukta hymn appear to denote the

rigidity of caste, the elevation or degradation of castes and the observance of caste rules mentioned by well-known Sutra writers like Gautama, Apastamba and others reveal the freedom allowed to the qualified people in all respects including inter-dining and inter-marriage. The incidents like those of Satyakama Jabali, and the possession of Brahma Vidyas like Panchagni Vidya by Kshatriyas, and the elevation of well-known Kshatriya families to Brahminhood—all of which are mentioned by the author to suit his own purpose—confirm the nature of this freedom. Apart from the recognition or non-recognition of the self-denial, piety and learning of the Brahmin, it should be admitted that, from the dawn of Rig Veda down to the early Sutra period, it is the culture and civilization of the Indo-Aryan with his adjuncts of caste that made the glory of India what it was. If at all any responsibility is to be attached to the degeneracy of *Vedic caste* into its later form of social rigour, it is to the advent of *Buddhism* and *Jainism*. While the degeneracy of Purvamimamsic ritualism was viewed with contempt not only by Buddha but by all Vedic scholars of the time, the rigidity of Buddhistic and Jainistic preachings of celibacy and strict morality and the penetration of monks into villages and towns under the support of powerful emperors changed the outlook of society in general, creating isolation in regard to diet, marriage, social order, religion, etc., and compelled the Brahmin leaders to cast off the old customs and bring forth new codes of Ethics and Religion to suit the time, thus unconsciously helping the rigours of caste. The laws of the Hindu legislators always expressed the mind of the society; and it is this wonderful adaptability that gained for the Brahmin the unique respect from all.

How far the Post-Buddhistic systems of Religion and Philosophy were indebted to Buddhism is no doubt an important question; but how far Buddhism itself is indebted to the Brahminical culture is equally important and deserves the careful attention of all. That the teachings of Upanishads much influenced Buddha should be admitted; and we may, in the light of recent researches in regard to the antiquity of the Bhagavata cult, safely infer that Buddha drew some of his inspiration from the latter which, along with the other Upanishadic schools, had sunk into insignificance during the period of ritualistic glamour that preceded Buddhism. From the similarity of Buddhism and Vaishnavism, the author not only considers the latter to be the off-shoot of the former but fancifully ascribes all other systems to Buddhistic source. It is curious that even the Vaishnava doctrine of *Prapatti* which finds its parallel in ancient Mazdaism should be ascribed to Buddhism.

We do not want to follow the author in his treatment of other religions in the country and his denial of Soul and God, but shall remain content with pointing out that no further light has been added to the vexatious question of Social Reform beyond what has already been thrown on the matter.

V. S.

'Kanarese Literature.'

BY E. P. RICE.

A Study and a Criticism by Vidyabhushana M. A. Narayana Sastry, M.A., Lecturer in Kanarese, Karnatak College, Dharwar.

WE have perused with much interest the pamphlet before us. It is a spirited criticism of Mr. Rice's book on Kanarese Literature. By making the following assertions, *viz.*, *the first modern scholars to give with any fulness a connected view of Kanarese literature were the German Missionaries Wruth and Kittel* and *Kanarese printing owes its inception to missionaries, etc.*, the author Mr. Rice has done injustice to the other workers in the field. We do not grudge the credit given to the missionary but on the other hand there is every reason for us to be grateful for what the missionary enterprise has done to kindle and stimulate a love for Vernaculars in the Karnatak people. It has to be admitted that there is a paucity of scientific books in the Kannada language. This is explained as being due to the lack of state and public patronage. We are not inclined to agree with the critic here in view of the fact that a large volume of scientific literature has been brought forth in the Bengali and Telugu languages, which are also suffering under the same disadvantage. We ascribe the want of scientific books in the Kannada language more to the apathy of the educated public towards the development of their vernacular and to the want of necessary organization to do the work than to anything else.

2. To say that the Kannada language is famished for noble thoughts and sentiments is to deny the very existence of a literature for Kanarese. As observed by the critic, nowhere is the theme of love so highly exalted as in the Indian Vernaculars. He quotes several literary works in support of his arguments to refute Mr. Rice's assertions. In doing so, he appeals to the educated public and the Mysore University to elevate the language from its present depression. It is for the University and the public to respond to it and we hope it will be done.

T. S.

The Jaina Gazette, Volume XVIII, No. 4.

THE Jaina Gazette is of engrossing interest in that it deals with matters pertaining to Jainism, its relation to other religions, its philosophy and the customs and practices of its votaries. Though there is a vast Jaina population in India and their religion was once a strong force in the formation of ancient Indian History, the vital principles, etc., of that religion are not so well known as they ought to be. The main object of the Journal seems to be to educate the people and to correct the wrong impressions entertained by other religionists about their religion. This object seems to be well served in view of the scholarly articles that are appearing in the Journal.

2. The number before us contains valuable articles which are well worth study. The first of them gives in a nut-shell the basic principles of Jainism, a

perusal of which gives a clear idea of the Jaina beliefs and practices and removes all misunderstanding about them. The second is a review of 'Kunda Kunda's Panchastikayasara' by Professor Chakravarthi. Herein is given an account of the Jaina Philosophy as compared and contrasted with other philosophical systems of India. In the next, 'The age of Kunda Kunda,' Mr. Seshagiri Rao contests the statement made by Professor Chakravarthi that the saint's patron was one Siva Skanda Varma of Kanchi and gives as an alternative that the saint's patron came of the Andhra Kadamba line. In support of his statements he refers to a lead coin and six clay seals discovered at Ramathirtham in the Andhra country which relate to the saint's period. The writings on the seals are stated to be of a language which very much resembles the kind of Prakrit used by Kunda Kunda in his work 'Panchastikayasara'. He also tries to contradict Professor Chakravarthi's theory, *viz.*, that Kunda Kunda was the author of Tirukkural and flourished somewhere about Kanchi, on the ground that Kunda Kunda was a great Prakrit scholar, that the work is free from the influence of Sanskrit and Prakrit dialects and that it is highly improbable that he could have subjected himself to such a self-denying rigour in composing the Tirukkural. In the next article, 'Jainism and Dr. Gour's Hindu Code' an attempt is made to disprove the statement made by the Doctor that Jainas are Hindu dissenters and that their religion is an offshoot of Buddhism. This is followed by two other articles, *viz.*, 'Pramana-nayatatwalokalankara' and the 'Confluence of Opposites', the former of which deals with philosophy and the latter is a review of the book of the same name by Mr. C. R. Jain. Lastly appear the correspondence on Hindu Code and Jaina Law and the accounts of the Jaina Sabha activities, which disclose the keen interest taken by the leaders of the community to safeguard their political and religious interests.

The Journal is well got up and supplies a real need.

T. S.

Memories of the Archæological Survey of India.

No. 10—A Guide to Nizam-ud-din.

BY MAULVI ZAFAR HASAN, B.A.

WE are glad to be in receipt of this excellent monograph beautifully illustrated. Nizamu-d-Din is a village four miles to the south of Shahjahanabad (Delhi City) and takes its name after the saint Shaikh Nizam-ud-din. Though a village, it is full of historical and religious memories.

The saint after whose name the village is so called flourished during the time of Khilji and Tughlaq dynasties. He was respected both by Jalalu-d-Din and Ala-ud-din and it is noteworthy to observe that the saint himself did not care for the favours of these emperors. Mubarak Khan, who assumed the title of Qutb-ud-din and whose short and inglorious reign full of plots and treasons is well-known, did not treat the saint with due respect which is said to be miraculously

connected with his subsequent assassination and the final passing of the Khilji dynasty to the Tughlaqs.

The saint's name may be well remembered by his chief disciple Amir Khusrau, one of the most celebrated poets and saints of India. Shaikh Nizam-ud-din was a Chishti saint and he is also the founder of a Sufic order known after him as Chishtiya Nizamiya.

The village is full of tombs of the above saints and others and the present monograph is a very valuable guide to this place of religious and historic importance. The author has taken great pains to collect enormous materials which throw a flood of fresh light on this unattractive subject which was not unearthed even by Jadunath Sarcar who is generally considered as an authority on subjects Moslem.

K. D.

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